ADOLF SCHULTEN

TARTESSOS

CONTRIBUTION TO MATAOTIGUA HISTORY

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TARTES SOS

CONTRIBUTION TO THE OLDEST HISTORY OF THE WEST

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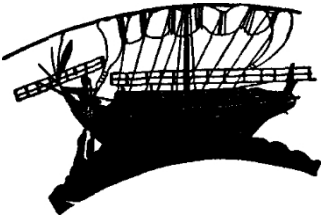

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FOREWORD

At the end of December 1921, Adolf Schulten completed his work *Tartessos. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte des Westens,* according to the date of its prologue.

This date marks the end of an era in the author's life, an era that began with the excavations at the Roman camps around Numancia/Garray (1905) and at the Ata-layón de la Atalaya de Renieblas —both located in the province of Soria— and ended with the last campaign in 1912. From this moment on, the desk work began: the necessary preliminary steps to bring a publication to light, including organising the contributions of his collaborators, seeking funding for the planned publication and, finally, printing his monumental work. In total, it was a long undertaking lasting twenty years, prolonged by the First World War and the shortages of the post-war period. Only the first volume was published a few months before the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

This volume I of *Humantia. Die Ergebnisse der AffS d-bungen 1905-1912* (Numancia. The results of the excavations of 1905-1912) already contains the essential arguments of his future contributions on *Tartessos,* its history and its culture.

The starting point for his work was his reading of *Ora Maritima* by the late antique Latin poet Rufus Festus Avienus (4th century AD), a fragment of a poem describing the Mediterranean coasts and, among other things, the enigmatic settlement of *Tartessos.* His desire to locate it topographically and chronologically was the reason for his numerous visits to the areas around the mouth of the Guadalquivir River, between Sanlúcar de Barrameda and Huelva, which ended in the unsuccessful excavations at Cerro de Trigo. Some preliminary reports written by him recount these activities. Fortune abandoned the excavator and did not allow him to obtain material proof of his historical and cultural reconstruction of *Tartessos.* But let us return to transcurso cronológico de nuestro texto: both projects —Avieno's "route" and the recons-

Schulten remained busy throughout World War I with his "historical" reconstruction of Tartessian culture, as well as his studies on Viriato and Sertorio, famous for their heroic resistance against the Roman conqueror and thematically closely linked to his interests in Numantia.

Finally, the *Tartessos* manuscript, written during the First World War, a period when he was unable to travel abroad, was published in 1922 as part of a series, "Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde" (Field Notes on Foreign Cultures and Civilisations). The print run was 500 copies, a normal amount for a scientific publication aimed at a highly specialised audience and,

as was customary for this type of publication, its binding is simple and austere, with almost no ornamentation except for a vignette depicting a Greek merchant ship, a detail from an Attic black-figure cup (540/530 BC). London, British Museum B436i. Compare L. Casson, Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. 78 (1958), p. 14 with note 8, plate 5a.

Two years later, the Spanish version was edited by José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955), with a print run of 1,500 copies and in a typeface befitting a literary essay.

The book itself was announced by Schulten in a text he published in which he hinted at the thread of his arguments. This was the article "Tartessos, the oldest city in the West" printed in the first volume of the Revista de Occidente in 1923 — a monthly publication linked to the name of J. Ortega y Gasset — under the heading: *New facts, new ideas5* In keeping with the aim of providing "a joyful and serene contemplation of ideas and art", etc., this is reflected in the careful ornamentation by the Uruguayan painter Rafael Barradas, one of the artists associated with Ortega. It seems that this text found its appropriate place in this volume for conceptual reasons.

These brief observations on the two monographic editions allow us to appreciate two different receptions: the German, which accepts this publication without much enthusiasm, as just another scientific contribution among many others and with very little impact, judging by the scarce reviews; and the Spanish, which receives the text as something that fits into the intellectual environment of its place of publication.

The same first volume of the journal that published the sketch offers us some clues about the intellectual environment. Under the same title Nomoi *hechos, nuevas* ideas (Nomoi facts, new ideas), there is also an essay by the ethnologist and cultural morphologist Leo Frobenius (1873-1938) M *cultura de la Atlántida (The Culture* of Atlantis)*,* which deals with the same subject as Schulten, Plato's Atlantis, which both consider to be a distant echo of a lost culture, equated by Schulten with *Tartessos,* but each from a different perspective: L. Frobenius reflects on the life of African cultures, which he calls Atlantic, that are born and die like organisms, leaving remains in the African subsoil, and Schulten attempts to reconstruct the history of a culture and its material traces; but both speak of an Atlantis and its culture that has disappeared "completely from European science and thought". For both authors, the mission is to resurrect it.

The interest of editor J. Ortega y Gasset in the subject of Tartessos is reflected not only in a news item in the same volume of the magazine referring to Schulten's excavations at Cerro del Trigo del Coto de Doñana in his search for *Tartessos* —already identified as such by Jorge Bonsor (1855-1930), one of the pioneers of archaeology—but also, a n d much more evident, in his 1923 essay *Atlantis* (J. Ortega y Gasset, *Complete Works,* Volume III (Revista de Occidente publishing house, Madrid 1950), pp. 281-316: In his words, our ideas of the world extended to four "dimensions": through prehistory into the depths of time, through penetration into the cultures of the Far East, through ethnography, and through Atlantis, submerged or evaporated cultures, as in the case of *Tart#SSOS.* Within this framework, Orte-

ga highlights the importance of Schulten's work in a long review subtitled *Tartesia,* which ends with the following paragraph: "I am particularly interested, as a symptom of current European sensibility, in the fact that while on the surface it seems very concerned with the liquidation of war, deep down it is secretly preparing to set sail for Atlantis, to flee the present and take refuge in who knows where — in distant places, in depths, in absences. We are living in a very characteristic time of spiritual transition, and few have yet reached new and stable ground. The rest live in sentimental flight, ready to absent themselves from what constitutes the now obsolete but still valid form of European existence."

Schulten was 54 years old at the time and enjoyed a certain degree of popularity in Hispanic cultural circles as the excavator of the Roman camps around Numancia. In the academic world of Ancient History, his annotated edition of Avienus as volume I of the *FonteS HiSpaniae Antiquae* collection, which compiles sources on ancient Hispanic history, was also highly regarded, as was the Spanish translation of his contribution to the *Realencyklopádie der classischen AltertumsWiSsenSchaft* under the heading *HiSpania.* Only the publication of the text on *TarteSsos* transcended academic barriers and penetrated a much broader cultural sphere.

On Schulten's part, there is not the slightest hint or allusion to the subject, that is, that he was aware of the social impact that reading his text would have on an audience seeking new cultures and their respective evolutions, much less did he realise the favourable conditions in

the intellectual circles of Madrid in the 1920s, for the reception of a concept of history that links a vanished culture with elements that have survived to this day; nor does he refer directly or indirectly to the morphological works of L. Frobenius and Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), the popular author of *Untergang des Abendlandes (*Torno 1, 1918), also published by the Revista de Occidente publishing house under the title *La decadencia de Occidente, un basquejo de la morfología de la historia anirersn/ (*1923), with an introduction by J. Ortega y Gasset.

Some features of his work can be better understood if we review his curriculum vitae:

Adolf Schulten lived for almost ninety years, that is, nearly half a century of the Kaiserreich, a decade and a half of the Weimar Republic, thirteen years of the Third Reich, until the beginning of the Federal Republic of Germany. Schulten was born on 27 May 1870 in Wuppertal-Elberfeld. His father was an executive at F . Bayer-Farben (a chemical dye factory). After completing his secondary education, he studied Greek from 1888 with the famous classical philologist Ulrich von Willamowitz-Moellendorff (1880-1936), who was Theodor Mommsen's son-in-law. He also studied Latin with Professor Friedrich Leo (1851-1914) at the University of Göttingen. In 1892, he received his doctorate with the thesis *De conventibus civium Romanorum.* Following Wilamowitz's advice, he left the University of Göttingen for Berlin to study epigraphy a n d Roman law, both of which were Th. Mommsen's specialities. Mommsen was a dominant figure in Berlin's academic circles. He had to suspend his studies because of

After being recommended by Wilamowitz in 1894, he was awarded a travel grant from the German Archaeological Institute, an almost obligatory tour for future archaeologists and classical historians. In 1886, through Wilamowitz's personal intervention, he was appointed extraordinary professor of Ancient History at the University of Göttingen, and in 1907 he was awarded the chair of Ancient History in Erlangen (Bavaria).

There was a hiatus in his life at the beginning of the new century, in the winter of 1901/02, caused by this decisive key event: when he read the Iberiké by the historian Appian of Alexandria (1st century AD), he was struck by the exact topography of the surroundings of *Numantia.* Convinced that this account referred to the witness of Scipio's campaigns — according to Schulten, the historian Polybius — he conceived the idea of verifying it at the site of the events and visited the hill of Numancia (Garray, province of Soria) for the first time in August 1902. Until then, he had worked on topics such as surveyors, the colonate, the Roman cataster, etc., and Roman Africa, but from then on he became increasingly involved in issues related to the history and archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula.

He had found his calling, his education complete with this encounter with philology, ancient history, topography and, finally, archaeology. The next half-century was filled with activities, travels, surveys, and also excavations in Cáceres el Viejo—the Roman camp of Metellus Castra Caecilia — and projects such as *Fontes Hipaniae Antiquae,* vols. I-IX (1989) (in collaboration with

the University of Barcelona) and *Iberische Landesbunde,* vols. I-VIII carried out by Antonio Tovar (1989), etc.

He was professor emeritus from 1935 and died on 19 March. from 1960 to the age of almost 90.

Overall, this is a typical curriculum vitae in a highly professionalised academic environment, sponsored by an influential professor such as Wilamowitz and supported by a wealthy family. His connections with Spain are the only difference that sets him apart from his German colleagues, a difference that is also reflected in the epitaph on his tomb in Erlangen: *Adolph Schulten/Germanic nation/amicus Hispaniae (*Adolf Schulten/Germanic by nationality/friend of Hispania).

Schulten held the chair of Ancient History, but by training he was a classical philologist. The basis of his work was provided by the ancient sources he used as a starting point for his reconstruction of a great Western culture, that of *Tartessos.* Archaeology had the task of expanding the material sources and solving the philological problems of topography, the identification of places, and the location of events. It turned out to be both *ancilla (*maiden) and *arbiter (*referee) at the same time.

He was a typical son of his era, a time of great discoveries that broadened geographical and historical horizons, a context in which archaeology played a special role: not only were new cultures discovered, but also a new and profound dimension of time in which one could step back, step by step, to an infinite distance, beyond anything imaginable for the people of past centuries whose vision was based on...

on the biblical world. But these advances were viewed differently. For J. Ortega y Gasset, they represented a broadening of perspectives: ″...it is now impossible to fit the enormous territories that have suddenly been added into a single perspective," leading to a polycentric general history (*op. cit.)*. For Schulten and his contemporaries, archaeology was nothing more than an "Eroberungswissenschaft," a science that conquered cultures forgotten in space and time. Archaeologists were their heroes, their swords were hoes and shovels, and their battlefields were excavations, a metaphor foreign to the intellectual musings of Ortega y Gasset.

One of the leading figures of this period is Heinrich Schliemann (1822–1890), whom Schulten refers to indirectly in the prologue to Tartessos, without mentioning his name. Schliemann was known to the German public as the great discoverer of the so-called Homeric world and the reality behind the songs of the Iliad.

"The small city of Troy has come to possess, through the work of the great poet, one of the most illustrious names in history. On the other hand, Tarschisch-Tartessos, the oldest cultural centre in the West, after being destroyed by the envy of the Carthaginians, was shrouded in the shadows of an unfavourable tradition and fell into the deepest oblivion." *Tartessos* had no rapsOda, but at last it had a rediscoverer and historian!

According to Schulten, Avienus' Tartessian5 news belongs to the ancient stratum of this poetic journey, which dates back to the 6th century BC. This tradition is attributed to a Massaliote navigator and explorer from 530 BC who lived approximately

during the final phase of Tartessos. The few references made by the historian Herodotus (5th century BC) and the Iphric poet Stesichorus (6th century BC) to a semi-mythical city and region also refer to this period, while biblical sources, which mention the ships of Tar3i3 and Tardis, refer to the previous phase...and further back to prehistory, to the Bronze Age.

His determination to comment on the *Ora Maritima* consequently led him to his work on *Tartessos:* this culture spans more than two thousand five hundred years. Metals were the vehicle for its development: copper from the Tartessian mines or tin brought from Brittany and the British Isles to be sold to merchants from the East. The Tartessians had their precursors—the Ligurians—just as the Phoenicians were preceded by the Cretans, the oldest maritime power in the Mediterranean. The pre-Tartessians are the representatives of a culture that is reflected in the striking remains of megalithic tombs and their expansion in the distribution of bell-shaped cups.

After the Cretan or Carian merchants came the Tyrians to *Tartessos,* "perhaps from 1200 BC onwards...", who then founded a colony on the island of Cadiz, in peace and harmony with *Tartessos.* With the voyages of the Phoenicians, *Tartessos* emerged from prehistoric obscurity and entered the light of historical tradition. The greed of the Phoenicians meant that at first they coexisted peacefully in order to found new colonies such as Mnñrn, *Sexi and Abdera, and* that around 800 BC they subjugated the peaceful Tartessians. It was only with the Assyrian siege of the city of Tyre that they managed to free themselves from the Phoenician yoke. Over the next 150 years, the incredibly long reign of the semi-mythical king Argantonio took place.

The void left by the Phoenicians was filled by the Ionian Greeks, who founded *Mainake* on the Costa del Sol, the westernmost Greek colony. Schulten assumed that this colony, located on the rock at the mouth of the No Vélez, was intended to facilitate trade with *Tartessos.*

The disastrous consequences of the naval battle of Alalia (Corsica) between the Carthaginians and their Etruscan allies and the Greeks-Phocians around 540/30 BC led to the strengthening of Carthage, which in turn led to the destruction of *Tartessos* and even *Mainake.* After exterminating their most troublesome competitors, especially the Cadizans, the Carthaginians gained a commercial monopoly for the next 500 years. Now it was their ships that sailed from the Tartessian region to the distant lands of the Cassiterides Islands to collect tin.

The Tartessos domain, which was undoubtedly peaceful, extended throughout Andalusia, from the Guadiana River in the west to Cape Nao in the east and Sierra Morena in the north. In other words, it covered all of Andalusia and Murcia and numerous tribes, most of them Iberian, such as the Mastienos. Under kings who descended from the gods, roads and canals were built, and vineyards and olive groves were planted. Society was organised into hierarchies. Coexistence was governed by laws. Notable characteristics of this state coincide with Plato's Atlantis, which bears a striking resemblance to *Tartessos.* Plato described Gades and its region as *Tartessos, and* in doing so gave a very clear and poetic image of a joyful and happy *Tartessos*, located at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River.

This Schultenian sketch of a great state, modelled on the Eastern empires, was intended to bring order to the confusing references to *Tartessos.* Ancient and modern authors allow us to rescue the old name from oblivion and, as far as possible, promote the discovery of the famous city. Schulten took on this task as he had taken on that of Numantia.

In the summer of 1923, J. Bonsor excavated Cerro de Trigo (Almonte), in Coto de Dofiana, accompanied by A. Schulten and Bavarian general A. Lammerer as surveyor. On this occasion, he also had the help and protection of the Duke of Tarifa and Denia, who not only provided accommodation in the hunting lodge on the marsh, but also covered the expenses.

However, the search for *Tartessos* had failed. The hypothetical reconstruction of its history and culture did not stand up to scrutiny. But Schulten insisted on his idea in the prologue to the second Spanish edition of 1945.

The basis for this reconstruction was quite fragile from the outset. Avieno's Oro *Marítima* as a starting point is a murky source. His aim is not to provide accurate geographical information but to write a historical poem about geographical data from the past.

However, neither this source, or more prudently put, this historical transmission of ancient sources, nor the various references to Tartessos, much less those of arbitrary distortions, paint a consistent picture. In this regard, we must bear in mind Javier de Hoz's methodical warning: "Today, Avienus' statements are only as valid as

their source is worth in cases where he mentions it explicitly: in other cases, their value needs external confirmation."

Schulten's topographical identification of *Tartessos* also remained only one of many proposals, such as Huelva, *Carteia or* Cadiz. It seems increasingly evident that it is not a city but a region that the Phoenicians, and later the Greeks, visited and called Tarschisch/Tar3i3 or Tartessos (according to Eastern tradition) and Tartessos (according to Greek sources) respectively, based on an indigenous name with a similar sound.

Schulten's Tartessian studies did not discover a new world. They already had predecessors, on the one hand the local historians of the previous two centuries, who identified different places with the intention of linking their people to a very ancient past, and on the other hand their contemporaries such as Antonio Blázquez Delgado Aguilera (1859-1950) —author of an annotated edition of the *Ora Marítima*— and Jorge Bonsor who, following Blázquez's advice, visited the Coto de Doíiana with the permission of the Duke of Tarifa and Denia and identified, as Schulten and Lammerer would do two years later, the Cerro del Trigo on the western bank of the Guadalquivir estuary as the site of *TarteSioS.* It is clear that Schulten's great Tartessian edifice did not exist as a historical reality but rather as a historiographical document representing a testimony to the cultural environment of his time: e .g. the construction of a state such as *Tartessos,* explanations of changes due to diffusion in the form of migrations, trade relations and the spread of spiritual a n d material elements, the features of a

people dating back to prehistoric times, without taking into account the profound ruptures and mixing of peoples throughout history (such as "In joyful Andalusia, which with its sun and wine, its songs and dances enjoys the beautiful life, something of the Phaeacians and Atlanteans, of Tartessians and Turdetani, still lives on today. This region is still today an 'Island of the Blessed' on the margins of a world that is destroying itself in eternal struggles'), etc. It is not necessary to dwell on this ideological background after the contributions of a broad generation of Spanish researchers such as G. Cruz Andreotti, R. *Olmos, M*. Fernández Miranda, F. Wulff Alonso and others.

But with this work, Schulten apparently created a sketch of historical structures based substantially on literary sources. It looked like a *patchwork* composed of elements of different origins and value, but with a certain appeal for his colleagues—the archaeologists. This philological construction offered an explanatory concept for the silent archaeological finds, which found a certain historical meaning within a world of names, social structures, politics and events. Under its broad umbrella, they found shelter for material evidence of various kinds, such as Mediterranean imports from the Near East and their imitations, but also Greek imports, especially vases from different regions, as well as indigenous products such as burnished pottery...

It seems that the weakness of the construction, after so many criticisms of different kinds: ideological, philological, methodological, etc., does not fundamentally affect the use of the word Tartessos. According to a definition from 1982,

which we find in the continuation of the "Archaeological Conference on Eastern Colonisation" in Huelva: "We call Tartessian the Late Bronze Age culture of the Guadalquivir Valley and Huelva, mainly, which underwent a profound process of acculturation following the arrival of the first colonial elements and declined from the end of the 6th century BC, giving rise to the formation of the Turdetani culture." This definition is rather unsatisfactory, especially when one begins to research or delve deeper into the indigenous aspects of this protohistoric world. The Greek name Tartessos, let alone the Eastern name Tarsis, has become both a *technical term* for an Easternising protohistoric culture and a poetic word that evokes lost kingdoms and utopian regions. Schulten's shadow will not fade until it is replaced by something more prosaic — the protohistoric culture of the Southwest.

SUMMARY

Schulten's *TarteSsos* covers a wide collection of written sources on our subject, "a very useful resource for all types of work," but "it is not limited to accepting what the compiler of the edition deemed appropriate or what he himself chooses because it fits well with his thinking" (F. Wulff Alonso).

At the same time, it presents us with a historical document of its era around the First World War, on the one hand.

as testimony to his Germanic background, his excellent education in classical languages, and the romantic traditions evident in his praise of the heroic struggle of indigenous peoples against Rome (think of his comparisons with the struggles against Napoleon), in the way he values the characteristics of peoples such as the Andalusians, but also in the habit of H. Schliemann as the discoverer of a great culture, as a member of a generation full of confidence in the progress of the conquest of time and space; and on the other hand, it is also a document of the intellectual environment of Ortega's circles in their search for new concepts and new ideas after a world war. The concept of a great culture and a well-organised state in the southwest two thousand years ago survived as part of a utopian past within a subculture, as M. Tarradell wrote decades after the Civil War. But the name Tartessos has not been lost and still serves as a catch-all for scientific definitions of an Orientalising culture in south-western Spain with varying nuances.

MICHAEL BLECH

Bad Krozingen, 15 June 2006

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INTRODUCTION

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Avieno, Orø møritimn.

The small city of Troy has come to possess, thanks to the great poet, one of the most illustrious names in history. On the other hand, Tarschisch-Tartessos, the first commercial city and oldest cultural centre in the West, after being destroyed by the envy of the Carthaginians, was shrouded in the shadows of an unfavourable tradition a n d fell into the deepest oblivion. This happened first in ancient times because the Carthaginians, having crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, turned the remote West into terra incognita once again, to the point that Tartessos was confused with Gades. It happened again, however, in modern times. Tartessos was obscured by an error made by Luther, who, in his version of the Bible, translated Tarsehisch as 'sea', thereby eliminating a name that the holy book could have popularised. Later, Movers, the erudite but uncritical historian of the Phoenicians, endeavoured to prove that the city

Tartessos had never existed, an opinion that was shared by most scholars; it is natural for people to repeat the opinions of others. Finally, the oblivion of Tartessos has also been contributed to by the lack of knowledge of the valuable testimony about this city offered by the 6th-century BC voyage from Marseille contained in Avienus' *Ora maritima*.

This book aims to organise the confusing references to Tartessos provided by ancient and modern authors, rescue the old name from oblivion and, as far as possible, promote the discovery of the famous city. The author has visited the mouth of the Tartessos River—Guadalquivir—several times in search of the Spanish Vineta. His efforts have not yet been crowned with success, but this is no reason to abandon the endeavour, rather it is further incentive to continue. And if he himself is not fortunate enough to find the old Tartessos, perhaps these pages will show others the sure route. What matters is success, not who achieves it.

But even if the buried city cannot be unearthed, its ancient culture, and above all its importance in the ancient history of the West and even the East, will become clearer every day thanks to archaeological discoveries. If many parts of this book are then found to be outdated, the author will have achieved his goal of encouraging further research: "Our science is a fragment and our prophecies are fragments, and when perfection comes, then the fragments will be no more."

A. Schullen.

Erlangen, December 1921.

CAPÍTULO I

Reference: mé• xatlgnan

The name of the city that is the subject of this research is shrouded in a peculiar charm. The Phoenicians called it Tarichisch(9*@' lJ), while the Greeks called it Tartessos (Topyaaóc). It is the oldest commercial city and the first cultural centre of the West, a Hesperian emporium comparable to those ancient centres of Eastern culture: Babylon and Nineveh, Memphis and Thebes, Knossos and Phaistos.

In the second millennium BC, when the rest of the western lands were still inhabited by barbarian peoples, whose savage hordes continually pushed each other around, a rich and well-organised state was already flourishing on the banks of the Guadalquivir, the river Tartessos. And while the deepest obscurity hangs over those nomadic fluctuations, Tarschisch, on the other hand, receives from the East the clear light of an ancient historical tradition.

According to reliable data from the Old Testament, Tarshish was already a rich emporium and the destination of Phoenician voyages in the time of King Solomon (1000 BC).

There is no doubt that the biblical Tarshish and the Greek Tartessos are one and the same city (1). Polybius, in fact, indicates

(1) The first to recognise the identity of Tarsehisch and Tartessos was the Spanish Jesuit scholar Pineda, in *Da rebus Salomonic, 4,* 14. He was followed by

ca Tip‹f:ç, that is, Tarschisch, as the Punic form of the name Tartessos. The expression Mooiío Tup‹ í¡ioç, meaning 'Mastia in the kingdom of Tartessos', appears in the second Roman-Carthaginian treaty of 348 BC (Pol. 3, 24, 2), the name being written, naturally, in its Punic form. The mercenaries native to Tarsis and its region are called BepoiTei in Hannibal's inscription (Pol. 3, 33, 9), that is, also in a text of Punic origin (1). The form Tarsis is also supported by the translators of the Old Testament, who translate Tar-sehisch as Tarsis, a n d by the fact that it has been confused with Tarsus in Cilicia (see chap. VII). It is curious and strange to find Tarsis used as a person's name in a later Latin funerary inscription (CIL, V, 61, 34; Büehe-ler, Carmzn‹i epigr. 1.309:

Z,es6io §'uam *lulorat lollus, pialchorrzma Taraio*
/indtcio *sit amor toffiua Maafi›ert‹a),*
qiaam ereptam temìs pia numino *aubtzaxomnt,*
Canc eibi sola domum cozpozza constituif•

[The beautiful Tarsis, whom the land of Lesbia sustained, (as demonstrated by the love of all Hosperia)
and whom the pious divinities took from the world, built this mansion of the body for herself.

Boehart in his *Topographia sacra* (1674), pars prior: Phaleg, chapter VII: Tarsis. Boehart's book was fundamental in matters of biblical topography.

(J) The hesitation in the vowel — for example, T‹íps:; and Be›s'*‹n — also occurs in the name of the river of the same name, in Tartessos, which is sometimes written as *Terti»* (see figs. 13 and 14). In later Greek a n d Roman sources, the name of the city is written with a u: Z'urfn, in Cato Tovpbpievoí, in Polybius, S4, 9; Toopzvtevot, in Artemidorus (see my book *Nu-mantia, 1›* 34). Related to these names is that of *Turtumelis,* who was one of the horsemen of the Turma Salluitann (Gatti, *Bull• delta Commics• Arch.* ñfun. *di Roma,* 1909, 47). Vowel changes before n are frequent *(*Karduckos, Kozdycne, Kurdos; ursua, /pxzoçy 8epoi ç, fiójssoç).

The indigenous name of the city was, apparently, Tart-is, like its river (see p. Î 2). But the Semites converted it to Tarsch-isch; the Locrians, or their predecessors the Cretans (see p. 20), to Tart-essos. The change from dental to sibilant o r vice versa occurs in words that correspond phonetically within the Semitic language group (Hebrew says *Aschur a n d* Aramaic *Athur;* Hebrew says Basehan a n d Aramaic Batan; Hebrew says *ṣñr* —rock— and Aramaic *ṭtr);* but it also occurs when a Semitic language takes a word from a foreign language. Thus, for example, the Greek ŃTÿóT«ïV (ÑTpdTuìvoÇ ZùpṬoÇ, tower of S.), becomes *Snharøchon* in Hebrew. This transformation of the t in *Tan* into the Semitic *sch* can be perfectly explained by assuming that the dental was somewhat lisping; a n d this was precisely the case in the Iberian language (1), in which *tart* was pronounced *tarz (* like the English t in *thing).* Polybius reproduces the ending *isch* pot *-is,* which allows us to suppose that the indigenous terminal form was *-is,* since the name of the river on which Tarshish was located was Tert-is, a n d the suffix *-is* is a very common Iberian suffix in Turdetania (Hispalis, Bætis, Astigis, etc.).

The indigenous name of the city has also been preserved in the name of its river, which in Greek was called Two-- r¡-ooc, and in indigenous tradition II-ṭ›x- r,: (EstéÍ. Biz., v. l›«'i:; o r Tert-is (Livio, 28, 22; *certis* is clearly a misprint for *tertis);* de-

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(1) In Iberian, the same name is sometimes written with ?, sometimes with fit: *thitaqs* and *t(i)tags* (Mon. Ling. Iher., p. XLVIII; Schuchardt, *Iber.* Dteklina-ïion, 28); Consabura a n d Condabura (Mon. Ling. iber., 230). The current O ropesa a n d the ancient O rospeda; the Ronian oia n *Arse (* Mon ed as de Sagunto: Mon, Ling. Iber. N . 40) as A rdea (Livio, L>l, 7 , 2). The same occurs in Celtic, where d is reproduced by r *th , H , de, . s . (* Hol d•. r, *Ń l'ke It. 5'o rachschatc.* letter D).

bia sonar, then, Tartis or Tertis (1). The name Bætis, which the Romans used in the east—and which gives rise to the name Bæturia (2) applied to the neighbouring region—has great affinity with Bætulo, in Catalonia, and Bæterræ, in Provence, and perhaps also with the Bætasios of Belgium; It is not a Turdetani name, but probably Ligurian, since the Ligurians inhabited the lower Bætis, as well as those other regions. In this case, Bætis may have been the older, pre-Tartessian name, and Tartessos the more modern name, introduced by the Tartessians. After the destruction of the city, the original name would have been used again.

The oldest *contemporary* reference to Tarsch-iseh (3) dates back to 730 BC. It is found in the prophet Isaiah. We read in Isaiah 2:16: "For the day of the Lord of hosts shall come upon every one that is proud and lofty, and upon every one that is lifted up; and it shall come down... and upon all the high cedars of Lebanon, and upon the oaks of Bashan... and upon all *the trees of Tarshish, a n d* upon all precious things."

The reference in 1 Kings 22:49 also comes from the period before the exile (586 BC): • Jotham had made ships of *Tarshish,* which were to go to Ophir for gold.• The reference in
1. 'De los Reyes, 10, 22: •because the king (Solomon) had kidneys

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(1) Aai Movers, *Ph6níai«r,* 2, 2, p. 612.

(2) Ouizås also belonged to this group, as did Bæs-ippo, Bes-ilus (city and river south of G•des) and Bæs-ucei, since the ancient form of Bæt-orræ was Ben-era, and in Iberian the change from ł to s is common (see above, pdg. 13).

(3) The texts in Tarsehisch can be found in Gesenius: The-cøams Wet. *Testamerili (*1843), p. 1,315. See also Riehm, I:*fnndœär-tarbuch dev bibl. Alt«nums (*1884), 2, 1,613; Guthe, *Bib•lmôrterbuch (*1913), 667. The translations of the biblical texts that are included follow almost to the letter the Spanish version by Cipriano de Vøler•.

from Tarshish by sea in Hiram's ships; once every three years the *ships of Tarshish* came bringing gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. The same can be said of the reference in Psalms 72:10 (circa 650 BC): • The kings of *Tarshish and* of the islands will bring gifts; the kings of Sheba and Seba will offer presents.

These ancient texts tell us about the • ships of Tarshish•, that is, the ships that sailed to Tarshish (1), large ships capable of making long voyages, which is why this name was used to designate a certain type of large ship (as, for example, we say a •transatlantic•). This is mainly inferred from the text of 1 Kings 22:49, where the ships that went to Ophir are also called *ships of Tarshish.* Because of their large size, the ships of Tarshish are, like the cedars of Lebanon, symbols of pride; this is how Isaiah uses the term in 2:16 (and also in Psalms 48:8: "With the south wind Thou breakest the *waves of Tarshish").* The ships were built and manned by the Tyrians under King Hiram. The ships of Tarshish that belonged to Solomon were undoubtedly built for this king and, since the Jews were not seafarers, were also manned by the Tyrians.

The large size of the ships shows that Tarshish was located in a remote region. This is confirmed in 1 Kings 10:22, which states that the ships of Tarshish, belonging to Hiram and Solomon, returned every three years laden with gold, silver, marmalade, apes, and turkeys. These goods show that Tarshish was on the route to West Africa, as ivory and monkeys are African products that came, according to all accounts,

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Similarly, the Egyptians called the ships that went to Crete "na-ves do Keftiu" (Bossert, *Altkrela* (1921), pfig. 46).

sciences, from the western coasts of Africa, as gold came from the Gold Coast, from Ufa (today he) (1). The text of Psalms, 72, 10, shows that Tarshish was dependent on Tyre and paid tribute to it, and also that it was located on

• the islands, that is, in the Mediterranean or even further afield.

These references, which are the oldest authentic ones, agree well with the information we read *in* later books. Although these books are more recent, they are clearly inspired by very ancient sources.

Isaiah, 66:19 (circa 475 BC) (2), says: 'and I will set

Among them I will send the remnant of them to the nations, to *Tarshish, to* Put and Lud, who draw the bow; to Tubal and Javan, to *the coastlands* that *have* not *heard of me.* **Isaiah** 60:9 says: "For the **islands** shall wait for me**, and** the ships *of Tarshish* shall come to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them." And Genesis 10:4 (circa 475 BC) says: "And the sons of Javan: Elishah (Carthage) and *Tarshish and* Kittim and Rodanim (Cyprus and Rhodes)." In these passages, Tarshish is mentioned alongside the "remote islands" and "Javan," that is, the Ionians, the Greeks, and also alongside Elisha-Carthage, which indicates that it is a western region. There is a passage from Jonah (around the 5th century) that shows that Tarshish was in the remote West, at the edge of the known world. This passage (Jonah 1:3) reads as follows: •And Jonah arose to flee from the presence of the Lord to *Tarshish, and* went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to *Tarshish, and* paying his passage he entered into it.

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(1) V. Dahse, *Ein* ze›eites *Goldland falemos,* Zf. f. Ethnologie, 1911. The land of Ufas (Jeremiah 10:9 : "silver of Tarshish and gold of Ufas") is what is now called "Ife" at the mouth of the Niger. (See Frobenius, *Das unbe* _Pennie *Afrika,* fig. 139.)

(2) Verses 56-66 of Isaiah are post-exilic.

he went with them to *Tarshish* from before the Lord. Other passages in the Bible speak of the treasures of Tarshish and its trade with Tyre. Thus Ezekiel 27:12 (circa 580 BC):

• *Tarshish, your merchant* (the merchant of Tyre), because of the multitude of all riches in *R!Ota iron, tin*, and *lead,* gave in your fairs.•

Ezekiel, 38, 12: •Sheba and Dedan, and the *merchants of Tar-*
•is, and all its... will say to you: You have come to seize spoils.
/You have gathered your multitude to take prey, to take silver

Jeremiah, 10:9 (circa 5th century BC): •They shall bring *silver from Tarshish* and gold from Uphaz.•

If, then, Tarshish was located in the remote West, on the route to West Africa, it had to be situated in the region of the Strait of Gibraltar. And, indeed, it can be demonstrated that this was the case. The metals, especially silver, mentioned by Jeremiah 10:9, and tin, allude to Spain, whose wealth in metals is very ancient. Spain provided the ancient world with silver and sold it the stadia. In 1 Kings 10:21, we read: "And all King Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold... not of silver; for in Solomon's time silver was not esteemed." And in verse 27: "And the king made silver as stones in Jerusalem." All of which indicates that there were large inflows of silver metal into Jerusalem at that time.

Tin, however, constitutes decisive evidence. The Tartessians brought tin from Brittany and the British Isles to sell to merchants from the East (see chapters IV and VIII). We know from direct references that the Tyrians went to Tartessos to collect silver (1). Tell me that they had bought so much

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(1) Diodorus, 5, 35, 4; from mira6. *auscaR.,* US.
xxaxaasos

silver, which meant that lead anchors had to be replaced with silver ones. This metal must have been extremely cheap, as evidenced by the silver rivets on Spanish copper pouches (1). In Andalusia there was also gold (Hecateus, kag. 5, Strabo, 142, 146, 148), lead (Hecateus, tr. 10, Strabo, 148), and iron (Strabo, 146). The precious stones that took their name from Tarshish and are mentioned in Exodus 28:20 and 39:13 also allude to Spain. In fact, these are undoubtedly chrysolite (the LXX translates ¿pvoóki8o¢), which was mainly found in Spain (2).

Thus, the identity of Tarshish and Tartessos, already demonstrated by the linguistic coincidence, is also confirmed by the facts.

There is another reference to Tartessos that is almost contemporary with the oldest biblical citations. It is an Assyrian text, a cuneiform text (3) recently published (4), in which Asarkaddon (680-668 BC) glorifies himself in these terms: • The kings of the centre of the sea, all of them, from the land of Jad-nan (Cyprus), the land of Jaman (Javan), to the land *of Tarsis (*5), have bowed down at my feet.• As in the Bible, Tarsis appears here alongside Cyprus and Lavan as a city of the
West.

The Assyrians' knowledge of Tarschisch did not was due, naturally, to voyages or conquests made by

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(1) Schuehardt, *B rL Site. Ber.,* 1913, 74f.

(2) Plin., 37, 127; Riehm, *HandmorttHuch›* in the word <Edelstoine•. (3 D0bo n Professor Hotnmel the knowledge of this important cit•. (4} ¥ileonurschmidt, AciischriJcxfc nui *Azsur* Jtist» Jnhafte¢ (1911), No. 7S•

(5) The editor read *Nu-si-si*¡ poFo hÁeisSner and Unger saw that it should read it as •Tar-ni-ci». (f2. f& *Reid.,* 1917, 410.J

them. They owed this exclusively to the Phoenicians, who sailed toTarshish and sold silver and steelyard to the Assyrians. PefiO CO£tIO theAssyrians came to Tyre, they were able, in a way, to dominate all those lands, as far as Tarshish (see chapter III). Later (p. 34) we will discuss an even older Assyriantext, which may also refer to Tarsehiseh.

Biblical references lead us to believe that before 1000 BC, the Tyrians had already sailed to Tarshish. Indeed, although the reference to King Solomon's ships of Tarshish is found in a later addition (1 Kings 10:22), it is certain that it comes from sources prior to the exile, because the passage in 1 Kings 22:49 contains an authentic reference, which is in the annals of King Josaphat (876-851), and shows that Tarshish already existed in 900, and, evidently, at that date it had already been in existence for many years (1).

However, trade with Tyre, and therefore the city of Tar-schisch itself, dates back even further. The Tyrians founded Gtides, it seems, around the year 1100, to serve as an intermediary in their trade with Tartessos. This date, which has recently been called into question (2), deserves, however, our full confidence, as it comes from indigenous sources (3);

(1J Prof. Sellin has kindly explained to me the chronology of the biblical tectiazoaioa.

(2) B<loch: *Ga«ch. Q»«hi‹ht«,* 1°, 2.251.

(3) Both the synchronism of Gades with Utiea in Velleius 1, 2, 4, and the reference in Timaeus, which states that Utiea was founded, according to Phoenician data, 287 years before Carthage *(De mir.* once., 134), come from the same source. The following conclusion can therefore be drawn: Carthage was founded in the year 814 (38 autos of the 1st Olympiad, says Timaeus in Dionysius Hellenicus, 1, 74), and excavations have confirmed this date. If 814 years ago...

, the Phoenicians were already sailing the Mediterranean from the year 1500 (1).

There is also a fact that confirms the remote date of the founding of Gades and ratifies the great antiquity of Tartessos. According to all appearances, there was an eastern people who, before the Phoenicians, sailed along the coasts of Spain; this was the *Cretan* people, the people of Minos, the oldest maritime power in the Mediterranean. The Greeks retained only a fabulous memory of Crete (2), but recently discovered Cretan and Egyptian monuments bear witness to that ancient nation (3). Even in Corsica, Cretan place names can be found (4). Cretan copper bars have been found in Sardinia (5). Aegean vases (• beaked vases•) and bull's heads similar to those found in Crete have been discovered in the Balearic Islands. Oriental ornaments made of ivory, turquoise and amethyst have been found on the south-eastern Spanish coast.

We therefore give 287, which gives us 1101 BC. Similarly, P1—based on Timaeus—does the calculation (N. H. 16, 216) and finds 1178 years before the year in which he writes. Velleius also does the calculation and finds that the foundation of Gades must have taken place at the time of the Dorian invasion, that is, around 1100. Mela, 3, 6, 46, and Strabo, 48, place it shortly after the fall of Troy. See Meltzer, Deseé. d. *Karthager, I*, 459 ff.; G sell, *Hist.* eric. *de I'A frique du Nord (* 1913), I, 360 ff.

(t) Ed. Meyer: *fiiescé. der Alt.,* 1', 234.

(2) On Minos, see P reller-Robert: Griec/í. *Myth,* '2, 1, 346.

(3) On the Eretian thalassocracy (dominion of the sea), see Herodotus, I, 171; 3, 122; Thucydides, 1, 4, Ephorus in Eusebius, 543; Aristotle, *Pol.,* 2, 10, 2; Ed. Meyer, Gescfi. *d. Alt.,* I°, 2, 702¡ 715; A. Mosso, *Le originó della civiltá mediterranea* (1910), 206. On the seal stones of Crete, sailing ships with three masts are depicted (ib. 207).

(4) Fiek, *Vorgriech.* Orlsnnmtn, 2S. On "Minoan" cities in Sicily, see Rhein. Mus., 1910, 206.
Sardinia, see Rhein. Mus., 1910, 206.

(5) Evans, *Scripts Minoa,* 96. The legend that Dodal built the Sardinian Nuraghes *(De mir. aisst.›* 100) undoubtedly reflects the existence of ancient relations between Crete and Sardinia.

The Iberian alphabet appears to contain eight Cretan graphic signs (1). It could be argued against all this that no manufactured products of undoubted Cretan origin, such as Kamares vases, have yet been found in Spain. However, it should be borne in mind that few excavations have been carried out in southern Spain and, above all, that Tartessos, the terminus of the eastern voyages, has not yet been discovered. According to Egyptian monuments, the *Keftiu,* that is, the Eretians, possessed large quantities of silver (2). It could be that this silver came from Spain.

In Falmouth, Cornwall, a tin bar (3) has been found with the characteristic shape of Cretan copper bars, that is, the double dovetail (4). This fact could be evidence of trade between Crete and Tartessos, as the Tartessians traded with the œstrymnios (see chapter VIII), who sailed to England (5). It is possible that the finTpó}o}lo, the vertebra-shaped bars mentioned by Ti-meo (Diodorus, 5, 22) when discussing Cornish tin, are the same as those found in England; indeed, the astragalus, with its double indentation, bears some resemblance to the Cretan bars.

It should also be noted that in the rooms la-

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(1) Evans, *.fcripùa* ñfinon, 98. Also the Iberian cult of the bulls of Crete of Crete (see *Numantia, 1,* 28).

Bossert, *Attkmta,* p. 47.

(3) The reproduction, in Bent, *The Risen* Cities *of Mashona-Land* (1902), 219-, I owe the information to Leon Frobenius.

(4) Reproductions: Fimmen, *Kit.* my£eri. *Kullur* (1921), 122-123, Forrer, *UrgHHch. deg* EuropaefT*, Ăftf •, RR. int. d'archÃol., ¡íVm. 9.*

(5) On this point, Hub. Schmidt writes: • Barrøs de ostafio in Ic form of law Cretan collection bars would surely attest to the relationship between Cornwall and Crete.

Weights have been found in Switzerland that appear to correspond to Cretan weights (1).

Further proof that the Cretans sailed to Spain can be found in the *very name Tartessos.* The ending •essos• is a primitive pre-Greek term from Asia Minor, mainly southern Asia Minor. It is widespread in the regions of Caria and Crete (2). Perhaps the name Tartessos does not come from the Forenses, but from the Cretans or Carians (3). Names ending in •essos• spread throughout the West, as evidenced by their appearance in Sicily (Herbessos, Telmessos). If the name Tartessos is Cretan, then it would be necessary to see whether the Phoenician •Tarschisch• is a derivation of •Tartessos• rather than of the indigenous name.

It seems, then, that around 1500 BC, Tarschisch was already the destination of Eastern sailors. But the mythical Tartessians claimed to be much older. Strabo, on page 139, says that they boasted of possessing *annals, poems and laws* in *metrical form,* 'six *thousand years* old' (4). The news

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(1) Forrer, *Jahrbuth fur* oflír. *beach. und Alt.,* 1906. A weight of 618 g (p. 57) is */¢¢ (the mina) of a 37 kg (the talent) Eretian copper bar (p. 60).

(2) Fick, Korgriesch. Orisnnm., 152. Poikilassos (G. G. M. I, 509), Oylisos (Plin. 4, 59), Amnisos (Pape, s. v.), and Tylissos are all located on Crete.

(3) Movers says the same thing, *f'honizier,* 2, 2, 612, note 64: "The Greek pronunciation of Tartessos probably comes from Carian sailors." I know of no examples of names ending in "essos" that were formed in historical times. Undoubtedly, Odcssos, in Pontus, was founded by the Milesians; but the name is surely pre-Hellenic, since in this same region there are pre-Hellenic names ending in "essoss": Salmydessos, Kardessos, Agensos, Harpessos, Kabensos, Orgeasos, Ordessos. See Pape, *Worterbuch dar griach.* £i,gennnmen.

(4) ... σοφώτατοι δὲ ἐξετάζονται τῶν Ἰβήρων οὗτοι καὶ γραμματικῇ χρῶνται καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχουσι συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἑξακισχι-

It comes from an indigenous source and was undoubtedly noted down by Posidonius

donio or Asclepiades during their stay in Turdetania (1).

According to this information, Tartessos must have already existed in 6000 BC. Undoubtedly, there is some exaggeration in this (2). But we can safely conclude that the city was very ancient.

In favour of this conclusion is the following fact: around 2500 BC, Andalusia was the seat of an ancient civilisation that radiated its influence throughout the North and East. This culture is the oldest, not only on the Iberian Peninsula, but in the entire Western world. It would undoubtedly be reckless to simply link the name Tartessos to this culture, which flourished a thousand years before the Phoenician voyages. However, the fact that

shows that there was a civilisation in this region in the most remote antiquity, and it can be assumed that the Tartessians, building on that older foundation, learned much from their predecessors.

Átulv iTiiiv, t Ç *Jaat. tal* oĺ HÜkov 0”I ÇbtJ /p‹IIv?et }ÇR}lp 9?'xJ oU }lt@[Á’] EG; [... they are considered the most learned of all the Iberians a n d are knowledgeable in literature a n d have ancient written annals a n d poems a n d laws in metrical form, six thousand years old, according to what they say. But the other Iberians also use letters, which are not all of the same kind...). The manuscripts give izñvi éz‹iiv is an ill-advised conjecture. See more on this later, in chapter VIII.

(1) The main source used by Strabo for this part is undoubtedly Posidonius, with whom the information fits perfectly; apart from him, one could also think of the grammarian Asclepiades of Mirlea, who taught in Turdetani and wrote a periigesis (description of a journey) of this region, which Strabo used. (Strabo, 166, 157.)

(2) The Indians also attributed to their states an antiquity of 6,100 years. (Arrian, fnf., 9). The Egyptians to their painting. (Plin., 3f, 15).

CHAPTER II

joe pre-Tartessian

By 2500 BC, southern Spain already had a flourishing industry (1). Silver and copper were already being mined in Sierra Morena at that time, as evidenced by the stone and deer antler mining tools that have been found in various locations. This wealth of copper gave rise to an important metallurgical industry. Around that time, the oldest metal weapons were forged in Spain: the axe

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(1) For further information, see: H. and L. Siret, *Les premiers* dges *du metal* dons *le Sad•Est* de *l'Espagne* (1887), a magnum opus to which we owe our first knowledge of the Copper Age in southern Spain; Hubert Schmidt, 6ronsc/und tian *Canena (P hist. Zeilcchr.,* 1909), a work that is fundamental to chronology; *Zur* Yorgesch.'cite *Spaniens IZt. f.* Hfinofogie, 1913), *Der Dolchalab* in *Sf:manten (*Opuseula arch . 0. Montelio dcd. 1913) — origin of the copper halberd from the stone one —; Wilke, *Suda›estaurop . Megalithhullur und ihre* Bexiehungen zum *Orient (* 1912)

H. Schuehardt, *IPectenropa* nfc *alter Kullurhreis* (Berl. Sitzungsberichte 1913) *and Alteuropa* (1919), a new work that compiles and organises everything known about Western culture in Europe and its expansion to the East and North; Bosch, *Arqueología prerromana hispánita,* in Schulten - Bosch, *I-IisPania (*1920), of great value for its accurate knowledge and critical study of Spanish material. Hubert Schmidt has the merit of having been the first to demonstrate the southern Hispanic origin and priority of this ancient Western culture. The first to recognise—to my knowledge—the independence of the West was Salomón Reinach (*Mirage oriental,* in *L'Anthropologie,* 1893). The new work by L. Siret, Questions de *chronologie* ibérique, I (Paris, 1913) is of great value for the wealth of material collected and reproduced; but it is mistaken in its interpretation, particularly in the chronology (see H . Schmidt, D. f .*int.* Jeif, 1919, 92).

copper weapon, the halberd, which resulted from replacing **the stone blade with a copper blade, and the triangular** copper **dagger**, which is nothing more than the blade of an axe converted into an independent weapon. These men also discovered the art of hardening copper, transforming it into bronze by adding tin. But the prehistoric inhabitants of Andalusia did not limit themselves to the metal industry. Other **techniques also** flourished on Andalusian soil, likewise born of the products of the earth. In prehistoric Andalusia...

We already find the art of weaving espanto, a flexible and very durable plant that is still used today in southern Spain to make a multitude of objects (1). The textile industry led **to the development of pottery. Espanto sacks are** so similar in shape and decoration—horizontal stripes—to the bell-shaped vessels of ancient southern Spanish pottery that there is no doubt that these vases come from from those sacks (2). Bell-shaped vessels are **distinguished by their graceful shape and rich ornamentation,** elegant, derived from esparto grass braiding (3), with its stripes, zigzag lines, etc. Those prehistoric craftsmen were highly skilled in enhancing the decoration by covering it with white colours. Another creation of southern Spanish pottery was the double-cavity vessel, the 'cup'.

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fl) In the Cueva de los Murciélagos cave, near Albuiiol, on a **southern** spur **of the Sierra Nevada, Neolithic vessels have been found alongside clothing, footwear, bags, etc., made of esparto grass (**see **Góngora,** *Antigüedades prehistóricas de Granada (*p. 29, fig. J,5).

(2) Compare the frightening ball **reproduced by Góngora (fig.** 1,6J **with the clay vessel in fig.** 143, **p.** 113. **The resemblance is striking. Braided patterns can already be seen in Palaeolithic cave paintings (see Oberzaaicr, 6infczzos *mpestros da VahoHa,*** 19t9, p. 112).

(3) *4.* Schuehardt, *Bart. Site-Bar.,* 1913, 736, 741.

The megalithic burial structures preserved in Andalusia and southern Portugal also give us a very good idea of the architecture of the Pretartesians. These structures date back to the third millennium BC, as do pottery and metallurgical techniques. We can trace their evolution from simple burial chambers that imitate the caves of early times and were later improved by the addition of a corridor and a vaulted burial chamber, to the sumptuous domes of Antequera (1). These grandiose and artistic tombs, in which the magnates of the country rested, give us an insight into the cult of the dead practised by the Pre-Taurians. A people who built such dwellings for their deceased must have believed in an enduring life after death. We find this same cult of the dead, and in even more grandiose forms, in the men who built the dolmens, cromlechs and menhirs of Brittany, and Stonehenge in the remote British Isles.

the largest of these prehistoric burial temples. Perhaps these peoples had affinities with the Pretartesians, and they certainly suffered the cultural influence of Andalusia (2).

Spain became very famous for its metals and metal articles. It seems that even then, in the third millennium BC, Eastern sailors and merchants had made their way to Spain and went to this country to collect the

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(1) V. Gómoz-Moreno, *Tartessian Architecture (Boí. d la Acad. de la Hictoríaj.* The most recent works on megalithic tombs in Spain are those by Obermaier, £f dofmen de ñfnforrubiffo (Junta para Am-pliación de Estudios; Madrid, 1919) and *Die Dolwen Spaniene (*Mitt. der un-thropol. G•s. in Wien, 1920).

(2) The relationship between megalithic tombs and the cult of the dead has been explained by Schuchardt in his book *AHauroPa and* in his article on Stooefieagc *(Pzfihiat. Tt.* , 1910).

silver and tin in exchange for industrial products from the East. In fact, Hispano-Celtic daggers made of copper and silver from the third millennium have been found in Crete, and silver vessels believed to be Spanish have been discovered in Troy II (around 2400 BC) (1). This exchange of goods must have been carried out by sea (2). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that bell-shaped vessels from Spain are also found in Sardinia and Sicily, but are absent in Italy, Greece and North Africa (3). The agents of this overseas trade between Spain and the East were probably not the Pretartesians, but rather Eastern merchants, as Cretan products (copper bars) are known to have been found as far away as Cerdeia; however, there is no evidence that the Pretartesians sailed the Mediterranean. Furthermore, it should be noted

ás necesitados de zaaterias primas eran, sin duda,

the Easterners.

The Pretartesians therefore maintained, in their trade with the

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(1) Schuehardt, Fesfeuropo eds *alftr* Kulturhreis, pp. 745, 748.

(2) Hub. Schmidt, *Broneefund* ron C•nenn, 130: "The need to explain the presence of objects made of marble, turquoise and amethyst in the region of Hispanic culture is all the more justified given that these objects are clearly foreign to the country. They could *only* have arrived *via the* Mediterranean *trade routes*. Therefore, the Iberian Peninsula must have had products of commercial value for the Orientals... The country's wealth in metals a t t r a c t e d foreign navigators. In the Copper Age, it was mainly copper and probably also tin. Later, silver was added. These were the most precious metals in the world at that time; this is the only explanation for the great development of social relations on the peninsula, which is evident in the powerful traces of the tombs. Fimmen, in his *Kretisch-mykénizc e Kultor,* also believes that Crete had trade with Spain (p. 121). Obermaier thinks that in the Neolithic period there were relations between Spain and Egypt via North Africa. (*Dolmen* de dfefórruóiffe, p. 73.)

(3) Siret, Quesfionc & C.hronobgie, 237.

The East had a rather passive attitude. In contrast, in other directions they developed a great initiative and founded a very active trade, especially with the regions of None, from where they brought copper, a material that was indispensable for their bronze industry.

In the third millennium, we can follow the traces of southern sailors who, sailing along the Atlantic coast, reached Great Britain and spread the culture of bell-shaped vessels and, above all, the metallurgical industry throughout this region. These were clearly migrants from southern Spain who penetrated the northern lands in search of metals, especially tin (1).

These connections between southern Spain and the British Isles are probably the reason why the name of the Silurians of Wales coincides with that of Mons *Silurus* (Avienus, 433), Sierra Nevada. The Iberian type of catfish, already noted by Tacitus (*Agricola,* 11), is still found in Wales and Ireland. Finally, the god Neto, the Turdetani god of war, also reappears in Ireland (Net). But the closest relations

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(1) J. H. Holwerda, *Dit Nederland in der Vorgeschichte* Europas (1915), has shown that the builders of Dutch megalithic tombs came from the south. Hub. Schmidt writes to me about the Spanish emigration to Inølaterra: "It is a group of brachycephalic peoples who originated in south-western Europe a n d spread the culture known as the Bell Beaker culture along the Rhine and Danube valleys. *They* spread *from the mouth of* the Meuse *to Great Britain and,* reaching the eastern coast of England a n d Scotland from the Channel, penetrated in small groups into the ancient dolichocranial population. They brought metals to Great Britain (copper, gold, bronze) and founded the metal industry in this country. See also H . Schmidt, Zur *Vorgeschichte* Spanión, p. 252: They probably set sail in search of copper and tin mines, and when their hopes were realised, they established the manufacture of bronze in the country, with profit, and having become sedentary, they mingled with the indigenous population.

are those between Spain and Ireland, whose megalithic tombs have a special affinity with those in Spain (1), and where Hispanic halberds are particularly abundant (2).

Ceramic products also spread throughout the north and east, giving rise to numerous imitations and transformations. The spread of the bell-shaped vase (3) offers us an intuitive view of this ancient trade. Two trade routes can be clearly distinguished, one eastern and one northern. Along the eastern route, the bell-shaped vase a c c o m p a n i e d eastern sailors, who bought silver and tin in Spain, and arrived with them in Sardinia and Sicily. Via the northern route, it travelled to Brittany, England and Ireland, carried by the pre-Thracians, who went t o these coaster ships in search of silver, then reached the mouths of the Rhine and Elbe, where the pre-Thracians acquired amber, and, going up the valleys of these rivers, it penetrated the Danube basin, whose course descends for a good distance. Thus, the area of bell-shaped vessels and Pretartesian exports covered the whole of north-western Europe. In contrast, the south-east, Italy and Greece, as well as the East and Asia, remained untouched, because these countries had been influenced by Eastern culture and its superior pottery. The double-concave cup seems to be the model for the Homeric tezo¢ d¡i$tx óz•t1o• (two-cavity **vessel**).

Like products from the metalworking and pottery industries, domed tombs spread throughout...

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(1) Obermaier, Miffaif. *d.Wienar Anthrop. G•z.,* 1920, 119, note 1; 131

(2) Sict, QucüowdcChmnoogü, 194.

(3) **Simt.** Quesf. ***da*** **kÑzono1,** 237; Sc)uaidt, *Kw.* Voz *'aach. Sp‹anjs¥aa.*

both in the north and in the east. They are found in Great Britain and even in the Vistula. On the other hand, the Euphrates tombs of Mycenae and Orcomenos represent the latest and most distant reproductions of the type, reaching maximum perfection in their development. There is a third southern province of Spanish tombs: northern Africa, the motherland of the Iberians. Leon Frobenius has studied these African tombs, which are derived from the Spanish ones (1).

Thus, in the third millennium BC, the south of the peninsula was already a cultural centre that extended its influence throughout the West, even reaching the eastern regions. However, the precursors of this pre-Tartessian culture, for example, the oldest forms of dolmens, date back to the fourth millennium (2). This brings us closer to the six-thousand-year-old Tartessian tradition, reaching at the same time the oldest Eastern cultures.

We cannot ignore certain essential elements of the way of life and culture of the later Tartessians in the pre-Tartessians. The pre-Tartessians were daring navigators and, like the Tartessians, they followed the northern routes in search of tin (3), and mining and the metal industry flourished among them.

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(1) *Práhist.* Of., 1916. Hub. Schmidt writes on this subject: "The tombs of North Africa represent a more developed stage of the great architectural tradition of Western Europe..., much more so than the Spanish tombs of the same type."

(2) Wilke (fig. 47 of the cited work), who believes them to date from the 5th and even 6th millennium,
is too optimistic.

(3) The similarities between Tartessian trade and pre-Tartessian trade are very striking. The Tartessians sailed to Brittany and, via the Oestrymnios, established relations with Ireland (Estño) and the coasts of the North Sea (Émbnf). This is evident from the expansion of their products.

These coincidences, however, do not stem from the nature of the country (1), as one might believe, but rather indicate an ethnic, or at least cultural, connection. This hypothesis finds valuable support in the aforementioned account that the Tartessians possessed a literature dating back six thousand years; indeed, this spiritual culture and that technical culture are perfectly consistent with each other. It is also noteworthy that the pre-Tartessian cupular tomb extends from Cape Roca to Cape Nao (2), that is, it essentially coincides with the later empire of Tartessos.

If, then, we consider: 1. That Tartessos already existed in the second millennium and was visited by Eastern sailors, who saw it as a great market for silver and tin; 2. That it possessed an ancient culture, estimated to be six thousand years old; 3. That both the Tartessian voyages north in search of tin and the Tartessian metallurgical industry coincide with the activity carried out by the prehistoric agents of Andalusian metallurgical culture in the third millennium; and 4. The extent of the Tartessian empire also coincides with the primitive area of that culture. Is it *reasonable* to assume *that Tartessos was the centre of the metallurgical culture that* developed *during the third millennium* in *southern Spain?* Prehistorians undoubtedly consider the province of Almería to be the centre of that culture a n d speak of a
•Alraericnse culture•. However, this opinion has no other
, as the Almeria region was the first place where this culture was discovered and studied; that is to say,

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(1) Thus, for example, the kabitaatas of the eastern coast and aepteg-trioaalea of Mpaãa were the aotigtieóad aavegcntes. Today, in contrast, there is ocvegación and eomercio eatre loa catdaaes and lo9 vaaeos.

(2) Mapa en Obermaier, *Dolmen de Matarrubilla*, p. 38.

the same external basis on which Cretan culture was first called •Mycenaean culture•. However, it is now known that this culture was widespread throughout Andalusia, and excavations are uncovering more and more of its monuments every day. In this state of affairs, we can truly consider the ancient cultural emporium of Tartessos to be its centre and focus, rather than the small and anonymous castles in the province of Almeria, without ports or land communications, remote corners that played no role in later trade and maritime traffic. The excavations will decide whether my hypothesis is true or not. Let us hope that they will soon shed light on the ten centuries that today lie unknown between the pre-Tartessians and the beginnings of the history of Tartessos.

We still do not know to which people the Pretarte-sios belonged. The ethnology of the Tartessians themselves is still uncertain (see chapter VIII). Those who wish to do so may link the Pretar-tesios with the city of the Ligures, which seems to have been a predecessor of Tartessos (1).

The ancient Andalusian culture, with its wealth of silver and tin, also offers an important perspective for the study of the ancient East. Indeed, it may be the solution to the enigma: where did the ancient Eastern empires obtain the silver and tin they were already using in the third millennium BC? The superior antiquity and autarky of the East, long imposed as a dogma on research, has meant that it has always been excluded.

(lJ Üstóf. fir¡onívq zókrs... y¢ T«pynoo• zkr,oíov. [The Ligurian city... near Tartessos.] The city must have been on the Ligurian lake, which could have taken its name from it, that is, h•cia Coria.

(2) See Ed. Meyer, GescJi. *d. Alt., l•,* 2, 517, 66$, 744.

the possibility (1) that the East imported those metals from the West (2). But now it will be necessary to rectify this opinion. Andalusia treasured these metals within its borders, and as early as the third millennium, it was exporting them far from its shores. It is therefore reasonable to assume that *in the third millennium BC, the East extracted silver a n d , above all, tin from Andalusia, a n d that the Cretans o r Carians* were *the agents of* this *trade (* 3), just as later it was the Phoenicians who engaged in the trafficking of these metals.

There is an Assyrian inscription from which it could be inferred that in the third millennium BC, the East maintained relations with Tarsehisch. This inscription refers to an ancient king named Sargon, who may be Sargon I of Assyria (around 2000 BC) or Sargon of Akkad (4) [around 2800 BC]. The land referred to in the text • Anaku •, which appears alongside • Kaptara • (i.e., Kaphtor, or Crete) as a land of the West, may mean •land of tin • (5) and refer to Tarshish (6). In that case, the inscription would demonstrate the ancient relations of Tartessos.

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(1) Ed. Meyer (op. cit., I', 2, 744) says: "It is still unknown where the masses of tin that the ancient world mixed with copper in the Bronze Age came from; in fact, the tin mines of England and Portugal cannot be taken into account, nor can those of Iran and inner India." B. Meissner says the same thing in *Babylonien und Aacynien,* p. 348.

(2) This was the opinion of W. Maz Müller *(Orient. Litt. Zait.,* 1899, 295).

(3) V. Numanii, I, 28.

(4) According to information provided to me in a letter from Hommel, it refers to Sargon of Assur. Meissner, on the other hand, informs me that it refers to Sargon of Akkad. Both, however, agree that the text cannot refer to Sargon II (721–705).

(S) *Anaka* first meant lead, then also tin (Meissner, Bnóyfonien *und Ascyrien,* p. 348).

(6) Such is the suspicion of E. Forrer in a work not yet published, which I learned about from Hommel.

with the East. The text reads as follows (1): •A-na-ku, Kap-ta-ra, the lands beyond the upper sea (the Mediterranean), Dilmun, Ma-gán, the lands beyond the lower sea, and the lands from sunrise to sunset that Sargon, king of the world, has conquered seven times.•

This hypothesis of ancient trade between Spain and the East, a hypothesis that emerges from historical evidence, also seems to be confirmed by linguistic relations. By all appearances, the East borrowed the word for tin from the West. The root *kassi* is widespread throughout the Ligurian-Celtic territory (2), especially in north-western Gaul and southern England, i.e. the homeland of tin. The word *kassi-teros* seems to be pre-Celtic, as it already appears in the pre-Celtic period (3), specifically in Ligurian territories: among the Oestrymnios, the Lernos and the Albiones. In contrast, in the East, the words xoouíiepoc—a Greek form found in the Iliad—and *Kastira, Kastir, Kasdir,*

—Indian, Aramaic and Arabic forms, derived from Greek—are imported terms, just as tin was imported into India

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Otto Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus* verschiedenen *Inhalías* £eip=., 1920, no. 92, 41.

(3) In tribe names* Baiocassea, Vadiocasses, Vidueasses, Velio-casses, Durocasses, all from Normandy; Sueasses, in Aquitaine ligiireo-Iberian; Tricasses, in Champagne; Cassii› in England. It also appears in personal names: Cassignatus, Cassivelaunus, Cassibratius, among others; and in city names: Cassieiate; and in names of gods: *di* Cns-s•r. See examples in Holdor.

(3) xn0síopoç is already found in the Iliad, that is, before 700, when there were still no colts in England or Britain. The suffix i•r was ciltieo (Pedersen, *Gramm. d.* £cffisclíen .Spmchen, Göttingen, 1911, vol. 2, 43). However, for the reasons already mentioned, we must assume that Kassi-ter-os is pre-critical and was later accepted by the Celts. Kassi is undoubtedly the name of the ti8rFa d0 OrÍgeD. See 4nOt• 2).

and paid a good price even in the days of the Empire (Pliny, 34, 163, *Periplus mar. Erythr.,* 49). It is very noteworthy that in Coptic, tin is apparently called "pitrán", meaning "British metal" (1). It is also worth noting certain coincidences between Spanish and Eastern place names (2), which could well be indications of ancient relations (3).

These primitive relations between the East and the West

They will become clearer and more evident every day, as excavations and discoveries multiply. It can be predicted that in ten or twenty years' time, Orientalists will pay more attention to ancient Spain than they have done so far.

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(1) According to a communication from K. Sethe, the word eopto zi8(›n is derived from< Britanniz».

(2) In a work entitled *Babylonischa* Kolonisefion in *rorgeschicht-In* Fichen *Spanien* (Festschrift für Lehmann-Haupt, 1921), E. Assmann attempted to show that more than fifty Spanish place names are Babylonian. From this he draws the conclusion that around 2500 BC a Babylonian migration must have come to Spain. Most of the coincidences are unusable—let us take as an example the derivation of Cordoba (compare with Onuba, Salduba, Mienba) from the Babylonian Kur-dub (• great is Dub), and Barc-ino (compare with Uzama Barc-a, Barg-usii) from Bar-Kinu (the god Bar is faithful). But the real a n d vocal coincidence between the city of iron and of *the Iori•,* Bil-bil-is, with the Sumerian 6if-óif (to burn) is quite remarkable. Similarly, Serpa (located in the Sierra Morena), rich in silver, could perhaps be related to snrpu (silver); Ebora •Cerialis• to e6Gru (wheat); Aritium to nrffu (the planet Venus worshipped in southern Spain).

(3) There are serious reasons to believe in a migration of static tribes from North Africa to Spain (southern migration towards the West in a direction parallel to the northern Indo-Germanic migration), as the ancient tradition admits (Salustio, *Bah.,* fug. 18; Pliny, 3, 8, etc.; Movcrs, 6Aoniaicr, 2 , 2 , 1U.) *Indeed, it cannot* be denied that there is a great coincidence between many Asian a n d Western place names. (See
my work ¡ line netie Bomercpur in iPesf/‹a1en. *Bonnar* Jehrb, 1918, 9S. and those cited by Fick in Ruftns heil, 41, 356). It would be desirable for linguists authorities in the science of language would study this important problem.

CHAPTER III

Tartessos y los fenicios

After the Eretian or Carian merchants, the Tyrians came to Tartessos, perhaps from 1200 BC onwards, when the power of Crete had been ruined; in the same way, the Locrians later succeeded the Tyrians. With the voyages of the Phoenicians, Tartessos emerges from prehistoric obscurity and enters the light of historical tradition.

Relations with the eastern merchants increased the wealth of Tartessos and, above all, had a decisive influence on the development of its culture. The products of Eastern industry, which the Tartessians acquired in exchange for their metals, introduced them to new crafts, which they then imitated; and the artisans and technicians who came on foreign ships also taught them new skills and trades.

The Tyrians must have traded for a long time in the Tartessos market before settling there permanently. They then founded a colony on the island of Cadiz (1), not far from Tartessos. The Tyrians could not have chosen a better location:

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(1) The oldest Gndes was located on the small island of San Sebastián, east of Cádiz (Estr•bón, 169; Plin., 4, 120). Later, Gades spread to the large island, now known as Cádiz. (See my article "Gades" in *Deutstht Zeit-achrift f. Spanien.* Barcelona, 1923. N. 170-172).

Gades dominated the Taisino Tiezopo, the market of Tartessos and the strait.

Strabo (p. 169 ff.) has preserved for us a Gadi-Tana account of the first voyages of the Tyrians to Tartessos (1). In obedience to an oracle that ordered them to send a colony to the Pillars of Hercules (Melkart) (2), the Tyrians first sailed to Sexi (Almúñecar, east of Malaga), but they had to return because the sacrifices did not yield favourable results. A second voyage took them some 1,500 stadia beyond the strait, to the • island of Hercules•, in the region of Onoba (Huelva, at the mouth of the River Tinto) (3). But here too, the sacrifice was unsuccessful. On the third voyage, Gades was finally founded. If all the data is correct, this 'Island of Hercules', near Onoba, is none other than the island formed by the Betis delta, the island of Cartare in the Periplus (4), which is not far from Onoba. This island was believed to be the site of the battle between Hercules and Geryon, and its name was reminiscent of Carthere, the mother of the Phoenician Hercules (5). Pliny (n. h. 4, 120) says that some authors place the

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(1) The source used by Strabo is Ponidonius. (See Eatra-bón, 170).

(2) Justino also says, 44, 5: *cum* socro *Hezculíe per quietem* yursi in éfispnniom fmrisfufissonf [as they transferred the cult of Hercules to Spain, by order of the oracle...].

(3) xnfi z3\w 'O ó{kt ys 'I§5p‹nt (near the city of Onoba de Ibe-rta] . lboria means here, as in Avieno› M3, the coast between the Tinto (lberua) and Arias rivers, which attests to the great antiquity of this account.

(4) COD C9t0 DOmbrO desigDo aqtlÍ, y dG aQUÍ eD A'deÍaDte, eÍ perÍplo m&S-ssliota del siglo vi a. de J. C. que está contenido en le *Ora marítima* de Avieno . In my edition of Avienus (*Fontec HisP• ant•t I* , Berlin, Wcidmann• 1922), I have separated the peripolo, isolated, from the later interpolations. (5) Ampolio, k *5«xtus Herculoa,* Crozii ef *Cartherez (filiuc}, quem* Cor-fúaginicnccs cofunt [Sezto Hórculea, son of Cronos and Carthom, whom

Erytheia Island, not towards Gades, but *towards Lusitania,* that is, further north; this information could also refer to Cartare. Thus, the Tyrians discovered Tartessos on their second voyage and, to trade with it, founded Gades on their third voyage. The founding of Gades must have taken place in peace *and* harmony with Tartessos. Indeed, later on, the Tartessians also welcomed the foreigners with warm hospitality. The Tartessians themselves had a keen interest in trading with foreigners, to whom they sold their surplus metals and industrial products in exchange for oil (*De mirab. ausc.* 135) and products of the Eastern artistic industry (1). Between Tartessos and Tyre, there must therefore have been a long period of peaceful harmony. But the greed of foreigners soon disturbed this harmony. The Tyrians, it seems, wanted to take over a larger area of territory. One step followed another. Once Gades was founded, its autarchy needed more space to sustain itself. The immediate step taken by the colonists was to extend their territory from the small island to the large one, present-day Cadiz (2). After the occupation of Gades, new colonies arrived, and little by little the southern and eastern coast

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(1) The objects found, and Diod. , 5, 3S, 4: ‹oúç G»'›'x«c.....dJopóJ> iáv 'ip)*pov }i:xpós 1:vos é'›i:Oónun; fi\kiuv popxítuv [the Phoenicians. .....They bought silver in exchange for other goods]; *Odyss.,* 15, 416: .....p5pt'á ovxs‹t d8úp¡inw vii tttk««ívp [.....bringing countless trifles on their black ship].

(2) The Phoenicians' art of enlarging small concessions and taking the whole when they had been given a finger is typically portrayed in the legend of Byrsa and in what Photius refers to in his Gotvixti›v 4u xnt [Treatises of the Phoenicians] (F. H. G. 1, 381). The first settlement was usually a small island near the coast (see Thueid., 6, 2), from which the Phoenicians then moved to the mainland. This was the case in Ibiza: the first colony was on the island of Plana. The same was true in Gados. Greek colonists also preferred the islands off the coast: Kyrene, Emporion, Hlinake, Siraeusa; see also *Odyss., 9*, 116.

Spain was filled with Punic factions (1). Tartessos was in danger of being cut off from the sea, an essential element of its life. War was inevitable. And, indeed, it took place, ending with the victory of the Tyrians, as can be seen in Psalm 72:10, which speaks of the tribute of Tartessos. Verses 23:1 ff. of Isaiah refer to the capture of Tyre by the Assyrians (around 700) as resulting in the freedom of Tartessos: "Howl, O ye sailors of Tarshish, for Tyre is destroyed, so that there is no house or inlay... Go t o Tarshish; wail, inhabitants of the coast!... Plough your land like the Nile, you people of Tarshish! There is no more slavery. Strabo also says that the Tartessians fell before 800 BC under the yoke of the Phoenicians (2).

These struggles between Tartessos and Tyre clearly refer two valuable fragments of an ancient tradition, preserved in more modern sources.

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(1) Malaca, Sexi, Abdera are Phoenician (as the coins show)› and therefore predate 700, the year in which the power of Tyre was ruined (see Movers, op. cit. 2, 2, 632). The voyage attests to the fact that the Phoenician colonies reached Cape Palos (see Avieno, 421, 459).

(2) Page 149: oUzo: ü(› GotviÇ:v oJvio; *}*vovio opóópo Dzo/sípvoi jim t‹iç zistoo:: ztíiv iv z{ Tovp0r¡x‹xvtG zókeo›v sol xiii› zi.patov x0ztuv Uz' txeívuiv vUv o1 i"OGot (in such a way that the Tartessians fell into the hands of the Phoenicians, that most of the cities of Turdetania a n d the neighbouring regions are still inhabited by them today]; p. 150: xouó os 'bo'v'/.el Ü(ni pr¡vo-'i:, x‹ii Çt 'I§ppízc xci Çç fi:§Jt¡ç -rv ‹this-qv ouxoi z‹ifiyov c ›ó y¿ ji*m¢ Jç '0p/poo (I say, then, that the Phoenicians have given us this information! for they already possessed the best o f Iberia a n d Libya before Homer's time]; pBg. 158i st j‹ip bj oov• aoitiÇw t§oo\ovzo its.jko (ni "I §rjp.¿) out. Espjpóovio:; uwi}pJv irv znx'zos@• }no8oi .. .. zct E-: -(›óxepsv Topío:; [if they, the Iberians, had wanted •help each other, neither the Carthaginians nor the Tyrians before them would have been able to defeat them) P inio, 3, 8: orQm com uniDer Dm ori-giiiis *Pmnorum existimaciit M. Agrippa* [M. Aerippa eatimabc that the entire coast (the southern coast) belonged to the Phoenicians]. See also the name Bi« nací «s‹ (Ap:«no. is r ., ss), and or de B« o0io no‹mt (*Peor.. 2*, 4, 6).

1. Macrobius, Sat. 1, 20, 12: *nam Theron, rex HiSR*•• •!- terioris, cum ad expugnandum Herculis templum ageretur fu-rore instructus exercitu nauium, Gadilani ex ad' erso venerunt provecti* nao*óus *łongis, commissoque prœlio adhuc œquo Mar-te consistente R•m a subito* in *fugam versæ sunt regiæ naves and suddenly caught fire and burned. Very few gut superfuerant hostium capti indicaverunl apparuisse sibi* feones *proris* Gadifanœ *chassis superstantes* xc *subito* suns na-ves *inmissis radiis quales* rn *Sołis capite pinguntur esustas* [because Theron, king of Spain, filled with rage, attacked the temple of Héreules with an army of ships, the people of Cadiz came from the opposite side in long ships; and once the battle began, it remained undecided for some time, until suddenly the king's ships fled a n d at the same time began to burn, seized by a fire that suddenly took hold of them. The very few who remained alive, prisoners of the enemy, reported that they had seen lions on the prows of the Cadiz ships a n d that suddenly their ships burned, struck by lightning bolts like those painted on the head of the Sun] (1).

2. Justino, 44, 5, 1: *nam cum Gaditani a Tyro... sacra Hercufiz per quietem jussi in Hispaniam transtulissent urbemque ibi condidissent,* znu*denïióiis *incrementis novæ urbis* Jnitimis *HiSR !" R*Pulis ac propierea Gaditanos hello lacessentibus auxilium* consangtiine*s *Carthaginienses misere* [for as the the people of Cadiz brought the cult of Hercules from Tyre to Spain, by order of the oracle, and founded a city here, the neighbouring peoples of Spain felt envy of the new prosperity

(1) This recalls the mirrors with which Archimedes had to defeat the new enemies.

of the new city and therefore harassed the people of Gadara with war; then the Carthaginians sent aid to their kinsmen].

Justino says, then—and indeed his account corresponds to the nature of things—that this was a war between neighbouring Iberian peoples, namely the Tartessians and the Gadi-tarians, which was becoming more dangerous by the day (1). The introduction of the Carthaginians is a later error, like the one made by Avienus when he speaks of the Carthaginians, translating the old Periplus, which only knew Phoenicians in Spain (2). Likewise, the war that Macrobius (3) refers to is clearly a war between Tyre and Tartessos, since only the Tartessians could wage a naval battle against the Tyrians, as Tartessos was the only maritime power among the Iberians and the rival of Tyre. But on this point too, tradition was clouded by later ignorance. Indeed, the king of Tartessos appears under the name of Theron, as a king of 'Spain Citerior', which is absurd, since neither Iberia Citerior, which bordered Gades, was a maritime power, nor did it obey a king.

These two pieces of news, as well as the reference to the founding of Gades, clearly come from Cadiz sources. Both, in fact, blame the Iberians for having...

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(1) The struggle of the Ligurians against Massalia, which was dangerous to the indigenous people because of its expansion, can be compared to this war. Justin describes it in identical words, 43, 3, 13: aed *Ligures, incre-mano urbiH invidenteHz ffr&coH a iduiH belliH* JfifiQHÁonf *ef'o Ío9* ligures, envious of the growing prosperity of the city, sang to the Greeks with incessant wars].

(2) See my edition of Avieno, p. 35.

(3) Maerobio draws on a 4th-century Roman Neoplatonist (*Wis-town: De ñfacrobii* 5nfurriafiorum Jonfióus, Diss. Breslau, 1880, p. 41; Traubo: *Varia* fijamente *critica (I 8áSJ,* W. A. Bsehrens: *Cornelius Labio* (1913).

took the initiative to attack, although one version attributes it to envy of Cadiz's growing prosperity and the other to the desire to expel the temple of Hercules. These two important historical events are also interesting from a literary point of view as one of the few examples of Phoenician historiography. It is curious to find the name Theron used as a Spanish personal name in another author who also draws on ancient accounts. Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 16, 476) gives the name Theron to one of the young Spaniards who o f f e r e d Scipio the spectacle of a race. Another was called Tartessos (v. 465, 509). The latter was from Gades, which Silius confuses with Tartessos (v. 476). On the other hand, he gives Theron as his homeland—a rare thing—the remote Galicia:

€É flh€Poit, *potaĖor aqu€ay sub* nominC *Ėeth€4*

{and Theron, drinker of the water that flowed under the name of Letheo (Mióo)-1

There is also a priest from Sagunto who bears the name Theron (2, 149, 192; 207, 226).

It is possible to demonstrate that this *rex HisЯani‹e* citerioris *The-ron* was in fact a king of Tartessos. Indeed, King Theron is not an unknown figure; he is perfectly identifiable with the king of Tartessos Geron, who gave his name to the •Geron's style• *(Arx* GerontisJ cited in the Periplus (Avienus, 263, 304) and located on the bank opposite the mouth of the Guadalquivir (see chapter IX). This king reappears in another later text (see p. 48). The name Geron, unknown to the Greeks, could easily have been confused with the famous name of Theron, tyrant of Akragas. But, in addition, Greek tradition also gives us information about King Geron. Who does not notice that Geron is identical to Ge-

ryon or Geryoneus of Greek mythology? Avienus has clearly perceived this identity *(Ora mar.,* 263):

Gerontis arx est eminus, namque ex ea
Ceryon‹i *quondam nuncupatum accepim un.*

[Beyond lies Geron Castle, which, according to tradition, gave its name to breaGogOD

Forensic experts recognised Geron as the giant Geryoneus, herdsman of oxen, and following the custom of colonisers, they transferred to the distant West the name that originally belonged to the western coast of Greece (1). The fact that very beautiful cattle were raised in Tartessos may also have contributed to this transfer. In fact, the Greeks s o u g h t Geryoneus wherever there were good bulls, even in Syria (2).

Geryon also appears as *king* of Tartessos in a very valuable chapter that Justin, surely relying on indigenous tradition, dedicates to the ancient kings of Tartessos (44, 4J (3): *in alta parte* ***Hispani‹e*** *qu‹e* en *insulis constat*

••z•* *ţenes Geryonem fuit.* In *han tanta pabuli l‹etitia est, ut nisi abstinentia interpellata sagina* /iierií *p‹ecora rumpantur* [in oWa part of Spain, which is made up of islands, there was
the kingdom of Geryon. There is such an abundance of beautiful pastures in that part that the cattle would burst if their food were not rationed]. The islands to which he refers are undoubtedly those that form

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(1) Hecat., fr. **349; Eaeilaz, 26; Wilamowitz, *Herakles,* 1, 304.**

(2) Preller, *Griech.* ***Mythol.,* 2°, 205.**

(3) This information was undoubtedly provided by one of the authors • Strabo also owes his knowledge of ancient Turdetania to Artomidorus, Poaidonius or • Asclepides of Mirloa (see above, p. 23).

but the course of the Betis; in them they graze (Strabo, p. 143) and even today beautiful bulls graze. A similar tradition has been preserved for us by Servius in his scholia on Virgil's *Aeneid*, 7, 662: *Geryones rex* /ii‹í *Hi•panii:e, qui* ideo *trimembris fingitur guia tribus insulis pr‹efuit, qu‹e* adi‹icení *Hispani‹e: Balearici:e majori el minori et Ebuso. Fingitur etiam b••!"R•tem habuisse, guia et terrestri et* nnoafi *certamine plurimum (R) otuit (* 1)... *Hunc Geryonem alii Tartessiorum regem dicunt*

and to have possessed the finest herd •R which Hercules killed and abducted, from* whose *blood it is said a tree grew, which was called vergi-*

liarum fempore *poma* fn *modum cerasi* sine *ossibus ferat.* [Geryon was a king of Spain who is depicted with three bodies, because he ruled over three islands located near Spain: Majorca, Minorca, and Ibiza. It is also said that he had a two-headed dog, because he was powerful abroad by land and sea... Others say that this Geryon was king of the Tartessians and possessed beautiful cattle; and Hercules, having killed him, took his bulls. It is said that a tree grew from his blood which, when the Pleiades appear, bears fruit similar to cherries, but without stones. The three islands mentioned in this text were naturally those formed by the Betis (the larger island, the smaller island and the small island between the larger and smaller islands). The confusion with the Balearic Islands is the result of later ignorance. The interpretation of the dog's double head as an allusion to Geron's maritime and terrestrial power is also false, but a core of historical tradition cannot be ignored in it. In the second part of the scholia, Geron is already expressly called king of Tartessos.

The other information we have about Geryon is based on

(1) The following is the edition of the renowned *Seroiuc auctuc.*

equally towards Tartessos. Diodorus (5, 17, 4) says that it possessed a great deal of gold and silver. According to Hesiod, his father was called Chrysaor, meaning 'golden sword', a name reminiscent of that of King Arganthonios (the man of silver) and, like the latter, perfectly suited to Tartessos, so rich in precious metals. Once transplanted to Tartessos, the myth of Geryoneus blossomed anew. The giant shepherd Pppuov is the bellowing one (from J\póo, to bellow), the bull. As such, he was identified with the river Tartessos, as the Greeks imagined rivers in the form of bulls (1). Geryon appears, then, in the form of the god of the river Tartessos in those verses by Stesichorus (Strabo, 148) that speak of his birth in a cave in the silver mountain, that is, the source of the Betis in the Sierra de Cástul: n/ebóv fir'zepoG xletvfi¢ 'EpoGeí«ç Topynnou zoz«¡iov super z•J‹i¢ dztípovo¢ ‹ipJopopí(hey ñ xeo8p.iá•i zezp«¢ (2) [almost opposite the illustrious Erytheia, next to the deep springs of the river Tartessos, which rises in the silver, in a cave in the rockJ. O n c e Geryoneus has become the personification of the river Tartessos, there is no doubt about the significance that should be attributed to that seemingly inexplicable figure of the giant with three heads o r three bodies that appears in Hesiod (3).

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(1) Prell r-Robert: *criech. Mythol.,* I•, 548.

(2) The transposition proposed by Borgk: T«pyonoií zora¡iov ojtetov ‹ivxi-Npag xi... 'Ep..., etc., destroys the meaning, which is crystal clear.

(3) Zhcog., 287:

Χρυσάωρ δ'ἔτεκεν τρικέφαλον Γ'ηρυονῆα
μειχθεὶς Κσλλιρόῃ, κούρῃ κλυτοῦ 'Ωκεανοῖο.
τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἐξεναίριζε βίῃ Ἡρακληείη
βουσὶ παρ' εἰλιπόδεσσι περρφύτῳ εἰν 'Ερυθείῃ
ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε περ βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους
Típov8' et¿ íspjv, btw§‹i¢ z0pov 'i2xsevoio
("Ορθρον τε κτείνας κσὶ βούκολον Εὐρυτίωνα

These are, in fact, the three branches of the Tartessos River (see chap. lX). In Hesiod, Erytheia, the island of the sunset, of the West, the land of mist (294), the Ocean (288, 294), the Stygian mansion, supported on silver columns (779), allude to this region (see chap. V). Just as we speak of

The arms of a river: the ancients used to represent rivers as bodies *(ca$_R$ut* — the source, *bracchia* — the arms of the river, xíp«c the sickle). This idea of the river god is also consistent with the genealogy of Geryoneus, who was born of Kallirho6, a name that undoubtedly refers to the spring (1). The ancient myth

is still evident in the later explanation of the three

bodies of Geryon by the three islands of the river.

The sailors who frequented Tartessos also identified King Geron with the benevolent sea god Glaukos, who, under the invocation of fi1'o¢ Jtpu» [the old man of the sea] (fi. *E.,* VII, 1.410), seemed to coincide with Geron. That is why Geron's castle, *arx Gerontis,* was given the name fixp« Wouxov [castle of Glaukos] (2).

Chrysaor fathered Geryon tricipite
Hsbióndoso, who was united with Kallirhoú, daughter of the noble Oeúano.
And he took away the strength of Hercules
along with the oxen that drag their feet, in Eritheia surrounded by water, on that day when he led the broad-browed oxen.
¢ sacred Tiryns, having added the Ocean and having
killed Orthroe and the bull Eurytion in a dark stable,
beyond the mighty Ocean).]

(1) Sobm Kallirhoó, used as the name of a spring, see Pepet *WÓrÉef buch* gf•ÍtcÜ. *EigHnnamen.*

(2) Eseol. Apoll. Rod., 2, 767: ó Onbxos z«pd Totó ”I§qpm Tipáz«q l'ípuiv tnkoupsv‹x;. ifzi 8* óxpn Heuxov ixei xe\oó}isvq [Glaueos, worshipped by the Iberians under the name of Geron. There is a castle there called Goron]. The bank 4o Salmedina, now covered by the sea, was in ancient times a low-lying area, not a cape, because oso a n d ‹Ixpa do not mean cape here (as is the case in hvieno, which uses *era Setiena* for *Satium jugum,* 609), but castle.

The identification of Geron with Geryon must undoubtedly have taken place during the early period of voyages to Tartessos, when the most terrifying figures of mythology were imagined to inhabit distant and unknown lands. On the other hand, the identification with Glaucus, a kind and benevolent god, took place later, during the period of friendly trade with Tartessos. A similar conversion also took place with other foreign heroes welcomed into Greek mythology (1).

Geryon, then, identified with King Geron and considered the personification of the river Tartessos, does not belong to Gades, as later ignorance led to believe, but to Tartessos. And the island of Erytheia, his dwelling place, which took its name from his daughter (Paus., 10, 17, 5), cannot have been the island of Gades, but rather the island formed by the Tartessos delta, before which his castle stood. The best Andalusian bulls are still bred in this region today. But when Tartessos disappeared, confusion arose with Gades, and the figures of Geryoneus and Erytheia were falsely transferred to Gades. However, the most ancient mythographers clearly place Erytheia in the delta of the river Tartessos. Estesicoro says that Erytheia is "opposite" the sources of the river, that is, at its mouth. Pherecydes states that Hercules went to Tartessos (frag. 33), and therefore places Erytheia here and not in Gades (see chap. VII). Finally, the sources used by Pliny and Mela place Erytheia not in Gades, but opposite Lusitania, that is, in the region of Tartessos (see above).

ba, p. 39).

(\) COIDO Oi ¥'ey 0gipaiO BU€it'i8, qU0 elflpCZÓ OieOdO al cD€tltigo dC tO• dos loe eztranjeros y se coayirtiá luego en el tipo de un priacipa ideat *(* 2. *E., III,* 1.075). Another example is Miaas.

We owe to these references a valuable fragment of the ancient history of Tartessos: the news of the war between the Tyrians and the Tartessians, under King Geron, whose castle could be seen by ancient sailors as they passed Írente at the mouth of the Guadalquivir. This war between Tartessos and Gades implies the complete development of the Phoenician colonies. It could not, therefore, have taken place before 800 BC (see p. 40). On the other hand, if the Phoenicians grafted the myth of Geryon onto the figure of Geron, it is because, when they went to Tartessos, the name of the old Tartessian king was still alive in the memory of the people. Now, the Phocians went to Tartessos around 700 BC; it is therefore clear that the date of the war between Tartessos and Gades must have been the one we have indicated.

Justino, in the chapter dealing with Espafia, has given us further information about the kings of ancient Tartessos: *sal-tus 'zero Tartessiorum,* tn *quibus titanas bellum adeersus deos gessisse proditur, incoluere Curetes, quorum rex eietustissimus Gargoris mellis colligendi usum primus* inventé [the forests of the Tartessians, in which tradition says that the Titans fought against the gods, were inhabited by the Curetes, whose king, the ancient Gargoris, was the first to discover the use of honey]. Those *saltus Tartessiorum* must be the hills of maritime pines found south of the mouth of the Betis, the *mons Tartessiorum silois opa-cus* mentioned in the Periplus (Avienus, 308). As for the Curetes, Pliny mentions the *litus Curense* in this region (*n. h. 3*, 7). Justin, then, introduces us to King Gargoris, who discovered the art of beekeeping. Later (§ 11) he also tells us about his son Habis, who invented agriculture, enacted the first laws, prohibited the nobles from working, and di-

He divided the working class into seven classes (see chapter VIII). Everything Justin tells us about the discovery of honey, which the Greeks attributed to Aristaios (Plin., 7, 199); about the childhood of Habis, who was suckled by a doe; about the lightness with which this king ran; and about the tattoos he bore, clearly comes from Turdetani traditions (1). The doe was a sacred animal among the Iberians; Sertorius used it for a *pia fraus (*Plut., *Será.,* 11). Honey was an important product of Turdetania and gave its name to the city of Mellaria. Speed in running was an Iberian virtue (2). Tattooing was an African custom and, therefore, Iberian, since the Iberians came from Africa (3). King Habis' incest with his daughter seems to be an expression of primitive, more or less immoral customs. Indeed, it is said that among the inhabitants of Great Britain, prior to the Aryans, sexual relations between parents and children were common (4).

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(1) The story of Habis, abandoned and miraculously saved, undoubtedly recalls other similar tales (Moses, Semiramis, Zarathustra, Cyrus, Romulus, Telephos, Atalanta, the children of Melanipus, Cybele, etc.). But this does not argue against the antiquity of the Tartessian legend. The legend of children born of illicit relations a n d therefore abandoned a n d then miraculously saved, almost always by animals that suckle them, is a nomadic legend that arises spontaneously in many places (see Wundt: *Volkarpsychologie, V*, 2 (2nd ed.), figs. 185, 308); which does not mean that there are no particular cases in which it is a reproduction, as happens, for example, in that of Romulus. Everything that is told about Habis, repeatedly abandoned a n d saved, returns in similar terms—the abandonment in a meadow is unavoidable—in the story of Zoroaster (Spiegel,
They were. Alt rtumskunde, 1, 690).
Numantia, 1, 49.

(3) Corippus: /o/i., 6, 82i Cass. Fúliz: *De medic. 20 Rose;* Riedmiiller, *Dic Johannis des Corippus,* Diss. Erlangen, 1919, p. 47.

(4) Strabo, 201: ‹pev•píiiç ticysn8«v zero Te óRnię vv«Ji xci ¡rr¡xpdsi z«t *itk$«iç [publicly consorted with any woman, even their mothers and sisters]. Other testimonies in Strabo, 783; Xanthos, tr. 28; Ed. Meyer, *G. d« Alt., 1*,* 1, 31.

It is strange that, in addition to the cultivation of bread, so much emphasis is placed on honey. But the fact is that in primitive villages, honey plays a very important role (1). On the other hand , it is also surprising that there is no information about who was the first to introduce olive cultivation, which has since become the most important agricultural product in Andalusia. From this, we can deduce, first, that the olive tree was imported later, and second, that these legends are very ancient. The names of the two kings are very Iberian in character. In Gargoris we find the reduplication so characteristic of Iberian-Libyan names (*Numantia, 1*, &), a n d a certain affinity with the Iberian names of *C•aros* and *Garonicus.* /3fon. *kzng. Iber.,* 258), perhaps also with Geron, which could be considered the Hellenisation of Garon (relating this name to Jepu). Habis, or Abis, can be compared with the Iberian names A6ionnus and *Abilus (Mon. Ling. Iber.,* 254).

The same series as Gargoris, discoverer of honey, and Abis, inventor of agriculture, also includes *Sol, Ocea-ni filius, cui Gellius medicina:e quoque* ineenfionem *ex metallis assignal* [Sol, son of Oceanus, to whom Gellius also attributes the invention of medicine through metals] (Pliny, n. h*., 7*, 197). Indeed, the name Sol fits well with the city of Tartessos, as the sun was worshipped in this region (see chapter VIII). The same can be said of the name Oceanus, which extended before the city. But above all, the use of metals seems to fit perfectly with the Tartessian region (2). It could be admitted that the series of kings of Tartessos began with Oceanus and Sol, since the dynasties...

(1J Hoemes, *Natur und Urgecch. d.* ñfenschen, I, 510.

(2J Ya Meyers, II, 2, 628, referred the text to Tartessos.

Ancient queens often claimed divine ancestry. Another king of Tartessos seems to have been called Norax. According to legend, he was the son of the god Hermes and Erytheia, the daughter of Geryon (1), and founded the city of Nora in Sardinia. The name seems Iberian, as it is related to *Norenus and Norisus (fon.* Ling. /óer., 259). The legend of the founding of Nora by King Norax may perhaps refer to trade between Tartessos and Sardinia (see p. 20). Based on his genealogy, Norax must have reigned after Geryon.

Thus, Tartessian tradition tells us about some ancient kings of Tartessos, some of whom are mythical, such as Oceanus and Sol (2); others are semi-mythical, such as Gargoris and Abis; and others, finally, are historical, such as Geron and Norax. Undoubtedly, these kings appeared in those ancient annals of Tartessos referred to by Strabo (see p. 22 and chap. VIII).

It is curious to note that, among the Iberians of the later period , the institution of monarchy was limited to the southern and eastern parts of the peninsula, that is, to the territory occupied by the Turdetani, Oretani, Edetani, and Ilergete tribes. Now, these tribes,

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(1) Paus., 10, 17, 5: yiG 3i 'Apuwniov "I§{peç ii W,v Hpbiii 0tn§ntvovaw oz0 j¡e}ióvt Tcu nókoo Noip‹ixt xci iixí0(F§ Noi¡›e zóku; usó nuz‹iiv; xnuw¡v zpiírrrv }évEO8Qt (Ókt•d }i }iOV2ÚOvst i•2 T *V afi.* fiQidQ Át 'E 0 tai xé Ç 1' pvjVov xQ: '{4i - *lou* }ovTtv etYAt Nov NtílpRxC [After Aristeo, the Iberians moved to Cerdeña, with Noraz leading the expedition, and they moved the city of Nora; and it is remembered that this was the first city on the island. They say that Noraz was the son of Erytheia, the daughter of Geryon, and Hermes]. Solinus, p. 50, Mommsen (vice S•llust., *I-H'ict., II, 5 j: nihil args aftinat dicere ut Sardus I-Harcule, Nora.x* Mercu-fiO proCf'eOÉi, cttm OÍfer C ÜiÁyD, Offor nÁ tlAqtte ÜCffe8so *flfiflpCftitf in hoHce* fines *parmeariasent, a* Sardo tarrze a *Norace* Norte *oppido* nomen *daium [* There is no need to say that Sardo, son of Hercules, and Nornz, son of Mercury, when they entered this eomnrec, coming from Libya and Este from Tar-tessos de E•p•ñ•› gave their names to the whole land and to the city.
dad of Nor•].

(2) Xpuotíuip (see p. 46) is undoubtedly a prioga invention.

either belonged to the ancient empire of Tartessos or bordered it. Could the Iberian monarchy have been a product of Tartessian influence?

We must therefore consider Geron to be a historical figure. Under his rule, Tartessos succumbed to the Tyrian yoke after an unfortunate battle. Although Justin's account of Geron is steeped in mythological traditions, this does not mean that he is not a historical figure. All ancient history is steeped in an atmosphere of legend, but almost all myths of this kind have a historical core. The Tartessians, above all, must have wrapped their historical tradition in myths and legends, since it is reasonable to attribute to them the same abundant imagination and fondness for fables that characterises their descendants, the Turdetani, and even the current Andalusians (see chapter VIII). King Geron seems to have stood out among the old re-

Yes, Tartesians. He was worshipped as a god (1), and the Greeks included him in their mythology.

The naval battle against Gades was disastrous for Tartessos. In this battle, the Tartessians revealed their limited military prowess, and neither were the Turdetani, their successors, great soldiers, and they were considered the least warlike people of ancient Iberia (see chapter VIII). After that battle, Tyre asserted its undisputed dominance over the western Mediterranean, which from then on remained inaccessible to foreign navigation, so much so that even in later times the expression "Tyrian sea" had the proverbial meaning of a sea that was fatal to sailors (2).

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(1) Thus, it must be understood, of course, that the updzev of the eseolio (see above, p. 47, note 2).

(2) Festus: 7'yrin marie (m•res tirios}.

The ruin of Tyre freed Tartessos from Phoenician rule. Around 700, the city of Tyre was besieged by the Assyrians for five years (1). The peoples subjugated by the Phoenicians took advantage of this opportunity to regain their independence. Such was the case with Tartessos (Isaiah, 23, 1, see p. 40), which from that moment on was free once again. The Greeks speak of a certain King Argantho-nios who ruled Tartessos for 150 years (see chapter IV). This fable perhaps refers to the 150 years of independence that Tartessos was able to enjoy from its liberation from the Tyrian yoke until the battle of Alalia (537) (2). Despite the ancient enmity, trade with Tyre resumed, according to Ezekiel, who wrote around 600 (see p. 17). But then came the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (3), which lasted thirteen years (586-573), and although the city was not taken, it lost its power and wealth forever. From that moment on, the Tyrians' voyages to Tartessos must have ceased completely (4).

Tartessos, then, not only regained its former empire, but also imposed its rule on the Phoenician colonies (5). That is why Hecataeus (tr. 9) refers to Sexi as a city of the Mastynos, and the periplus includes the Phoenicians and the *£ióyophoenices* of the southern coasts in the empire of Tartessos. At that time, the territory of Tartessos extended as far as Cape Nao.

Since the fall of Tyre in 700 BC, the market of

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(1) Ed. Meyer, *C'••»ch. d. Alt.,* 2, 467.
(3) C•tschzaid, *III. Schzfiffan.,* 2, 69.
(3) E. Meyer, *TS•i•h. d. Alt., 2,* 595.
(4) Pietsehmann, *H. 'ter Phoninúr'* 300 *and z.*
(5) Lc news that Nabuoodoaoeor ooaquiató fberi• (Mcgasteaca in ,{oecfo, *Azam,* IO, II) ea, aatur•laseate, uac falas deduecióa de su victoria eo-

ÔE@ Tt¥'0 Sgt @Ê@, Ê @).

Tartessos was left open to a new maritime power. Following in the footsteps of the Phoenicians, the Greeks sailed towards

the remote West. The first to venture out onto the high seas were the Phoenicians, whose fifty-oared ships became the successors to those ships from Tarshish that were manned by the Tyrians. Naturally, the Ionians, colonisers of the western sea, had long been aware of the Phoenician voyages to Tar-tessos and the riches that this city treasured (1). This knowledge increased the further they themselves ventured in that direction.

, had long been aware of the Phoenician voyages to Tartessos and the riches that this city treasured (1). This knowledge increased the further they themselves penetrated in the direction of the remote West.

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(1) With their knowledge of tin and amber (which appear in the *Odyssey* as Phoenician goods), the Greeks also had to acquire knowledge of Phoenician voyages to western lands, although in a

CHAPTER IV

3'azte••oc and loc foceqeee

Since 750, the Ionians had occupied the coasts of Sicily and southern Italy. In the 8th century, therefore, the Forenses must have begun their voyages t o Tartessos. Their glory was the discovery of the western Mediterranean (1). The first Greek to arrive i n Tartessos (2) was, according to accounts, Ko-laios of Samos, around the year 660 (3). *A* somewhat unfortunate inaccuracy is the passage in the Odyssey (15, 460, 473) in which amber is mentioned as a Phoenician commodity; when these verses were composed (before 700 BC?), the Phoenicians were not yet going t o Tartessos. Termintfs *ante* quem, on the other hand, are the offerings of Mirón, around the year 650, in the treasure

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(1) Herodoto, 1, 163: οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μσκρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τόν τε Ἀδρίην καί τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην κσὶ τὸν T«pyoeiv oiixoi stov oí z‹wn8 ç. [Those forensic scientists were the first of the hclcaoe to undertake long sea voyages. They were the ones who discovered the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas, Iberia and Tartessos.]

(2) Herodotus, 4, 52: io b'i¡izópiov zo'uio f,v dx?¡p«iov lou-o' rov jpsvo' [That market was intact at that time]. The fact that Tartessos was intact at that time refers, of course, only to the Greeks. Beloclr. Dr.. *G»ch., l•, 2*, 252, wants to infer from this passage that Tartessoa was then completely unknown. Perhaps the word áx/pnxov means "not destroyed," in which case Herodotus would have used a term before 9uem to establish the date of the destruction of **Tartessos (see my** comments in chapter 6).

(3J Before the founding of Cyrene, which took place around 650 (Beloch Cri<cA. C«scf., I°, 2, 3S7).

of the Sikyones in Olympia, these offerings were made of Tartessian bronze (1). The founding of Massalia, around 600 BC

, is *terminis* ante quem, not *hoSt Q•em,* for the date of the forensic voyages to Tartessos; indeed, that

The foundation already presupposes these voyages, since the Phocians would not have established the successive stages (Massalia, Hemerosko-peion, Mainake) before reaching their final destination, which was Tartessos. This is the only natural explanation for the fact that Greek poetry of the 5th century has news of the remote West (see chapter VII). The Phocaean voyages must have become more frequent after the fall of Tyre in 573.

The forensics—like the Phoenicians before them—mainly extracted silver and tin from Tartessos. Herodotus (4, 152) reports that Kolaios, the first Greek to visit Tartessos, brought back more than 1,500 kilograms of silver from his expedition. The Periplus (Avienus, 297) recounts that the Tartessos current carried tin to the city, and mentions Tartessian voyages in search of tin from Oestrymnis (Avienus, 113). In Pliny (*n. h.,* 197) we find the following important information: pfum6urri—meaning *(R)lumbum album —dx: Cassiteride insula (p')rimus ad(R)ort it 3fidacrifus [*Midácrito was the first to bring tin from the island of Cassitéride] Here we have preserved the name of the first Forense navigator who brought tin from Tartessos; I say Tartessos, because the Forenses did not sail t o the

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(1) Pausanias, 6, 19, 2-4. Although the treasure, in the form in which it was preserved, did not come from Mirón, as Pausanias believed, but from the 5th century (Hihig-Bliieinon Commentary on the passage quoted), the offerings do indeed come from Mirón, as Pausanias read his name on them. However, in the 5th century BC there was no Tartessian bronze, since in 500 BC Tartessos did not exist. I doubt that Pausanias himself stated this, or whether the bronze actually came from Tartessos.

tin islands, but rather brought tin from Tartessos (chapter V). We could correct *Midacritus* to *Midocritus* (Me:-bóxpt-oç), as only the latter name is found in Greek, and precisely in Ionian regions, in Attic inscriptions (Kirehner, *Prosop. Attica)* (1). In addition to silver and tin, the Phoenicians extracted bronze from Tartessos, in the manufacture of which the Tartessians excelled. Tartessian bronze was found in the treasure of the Sieyones, in Olympia. (See above, p. 39 a n d also chapter VII, when discussing Plato's Atlantis.)

In the 5th century, the name Tartessos was given to mullets (Aristophanes, *Frogs,* 475) and to ferrets, which are used to hunt rabbits (Herodotus, 4, 192): i•p«tva, ¡«ki¡ Tapyouia. They were then brought from Gades, but before that they could very well have come from Tartessos.

Just as the Tyrians founded Gades, the forensic authorities also founded a colony intended to facilitate their trade with Tartessos: this colony was *Ñfoinn£e.* It was located east of Malaga, and later, when the Carthaginians closed the strait, it was linked to Tartessos by a road (see chapter VI). Tradition has not handed down to us the date of the founding of Mai-take, but it must have been before the founding of Marseille, before 600 (see p. 39). One might wonder why the Phoenicians did not locate their colony in the vicinity of Tartessos, as the Phoenicians did when they founded Gadir. It cannot be

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(1) Knaaek (Hermes, 1881, 587) and Sal. Reinaeh *(L'Anthropologia,* 1889, *1$, and Cultes, mythei et* wfigions, 3•, 329) assume that the correction of *Mi-*I must be *Mi d a s* , based on the passage from Hyginus, f•b. 274: *iffxy Cyuen filiu$y PhryN* pfMmÁum 4ffÁum *et nigrum primuc* inuenif. (King Midas, son of Cybele, a Phrygian, was the first to discover blenny and black lead] (see Cassiodorus, var. 3, 31). But this assumption must be rejected, because Pliny names first who brought tin from Ccggitúri• das, which the king certainly never attributed to himself.

It was neither the fault of the Phocians nor the Tartessians, but undoubtedly due to the rivalry of the Tyrians. Mainake is of particular interest as it is the westernmost of the Greek colonies, the other pole of Dioskurias, in Pontus, being the easternmost. Thus, the enterprising Ionians managed to colonise the entire Mediterranean, from one end to the other.

Mainake, like Tartessos, was destroyed by the Carthaginians and has since been buried in oblivion, to the point of being confused with Malaea, just as Tartessos was confused with Gades. But in the last century before Christ, its ruins were still visible and clearly revealed the Hellenic layout of the city (1). Mainake is the oldest example of the *h•PR• (•) aca* regular layout, which is also found in Emporion (before the year 5 AD). Mainake and Emporion (before the year 5 AD). Mainake and Emporion (before the year 5 AD). Mainake and Emporion (before the year 5 AD). Mainake and Emporion (before the year 5 AD). Mainake and Emporion (before the year 5 AD). Mainake and Emporion (before the year 5 AD
also found in Emporion (before the year 5(D). Mainake and Em-
Porion shows that the regular layout of cities was already in use long before Hippodamus (around 400 BC) among the Ionians, who took it from the East (where it is very ancient); what Hippodamus did, then, was to spread it throughout Hellas *and* its colonies. It is necessary to identify Mainake with Mainobora, which Hecateus (p. 8) cites as a city of the Mastieni, and with the later city of Mainoba, which, according to Meta, 2, 94, and Pliny, 3, 8, and Pol., 2, 4, 7, was located on the river Mainoba in Malaea and Sexi (Almuñéear) [2], and according to the itineraries

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(1) **The** data from **Strabo (p. 156) comes from Artemidorus or Posidonius:** mu-Av z'v': Motv‹izp **Jv nurjv** vo¡ií(oosc.. mux Em: 8', dG' ixeivr, }d-z ἀπωτέρω τῆς **Καλπης** ἐστι, κατεσκαμμένη τά δὲ ἴχνη σώζουσα **Ἑλληνικῆς** πόλεως, ἡ δὲ **Μάλακα** πλησίον, μᾶλλον **Φοινικικὴ** τῷ σχήματι **[algunos creen que ésta (Málaga)** It is the same as Mainako..., but that is not the case, because Mainako is located **far from Culpe and is destroyed, and it preserves traces of** the **Greek** city**,** while Mulaghn is closer to Culpe and has more Phoenician traces.

(2) Vácse **Aviono,** 426:Gto&chm9n•j2umc i ‹rr6«cum co,¢nomine, ñf•nuce ***priori that recipe*** *azt a‹eculo Ç N* **rio do Mai•ca with the city of honey or**

rivers *(Itin. Ant.,* 405, 5), was located 12 miles or 18 kilometres from Malaea. The Mœnoba River is the Vélez River, the only one that exists between Malaga and Almuñécar. However, the distance indicated by the itineraries varies by 10 kilometres to the west, as the Vélez River flows into the sea 28 kilometres east of Málaga. In front of Mainake there was a large island with a gulf that served as a port and on the island there was a temple to the moon (Avieno, 428). Main-oba or Main-obora being the Iberian form (1), it could be that Main-ake represented the Phoenician transformation (2). Since Main-oba still existed in the imperial era, the Greek city could not have been in the same place, but rather at a nearby location, such as Hemeroskopeion next to Diniu and Emporion next to Indica. In 1922, I managed to discover the location of Mainake. The Greek city is situated on the • Peñón • to the right of the Vélez River, next to Torre del Mar (28 kilometres east of Málaga). The Iberian and Roman cities are located to the left of the river. The island of the • Moon • corresponds to the island formed by the two mouths of the Vélez and is low (3), as it corresponds to the description in the periplus. The Greek city has almost completely disappeared; something more remains of the Roman city. But it was possible to find the Greek necropolis (4). The discovery

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name, which was called Mainake in the previous century]. In this text there is one interpolation, and Malacca is used instead of Mainake from the voyage, as also happens in v. 181. Therefore, the information about being on the river of the same name refers to Mainake (see my edition of Avienus, p. 37).

(1) See my edition of Avienus, p. 105.

(2) The suffix -‹źx§ is common in Asia (’Avopiizg, ’A•òpi«y, 'Aprs, ct-

(3) As t•l appears by the lagoon that also serves as a port (Avieno› 430i *in in•ula stagn um quoque* íufusque *portus* [on the island, a lagoon that **también sirve de puerto seguro]).**

(4) See the report of my discovery (with maps) in *Archãol An••ig«r,* 1923*, S.*

of the Mainake neopolis would be a significant and valuable acquisition for the history of the peninsula and the relations between the Tartessians and the Forenses.

Forensic scientists established a second faetoria on the **eastern** coast**, in the northern Pantera of the Tartessian izaperio:** ***Femerosco*** ***-Peion*** •Akalaya del Dia•). This city was located next to the Iberian Diniu (Latin: *Dianium) and* must therefore be sought on the hill of Denia Castle. The Phocians had no more than these two colonies on the Iberian coast; in fact, the peri-plo, which dates from the Phocian period, does not mention any others. Emporion, Rhodas and the two trading posts south of Cape Nao were founded by the Massaliotes after the ruin of the Phocians. (See chapter VI). In exchange for the silver and tin they obtained in the Tartessos market, the Greeks undoubtedly brought the Tartessians products of Greek industry, as well as oil and wine, which the Iberians did not yet have. The Iberians must soon have learned to plant olive trees and vines, as the Massaliote voyage (Avienus, 495, 501) already mentions both crops on the eastern coasts. But the Greeks gave the Iberians something even better than the gifts of Pallas and Dionysus: they brought them Greek *art*. The gateway for Greek art was not so much Mainake—whose influence on the southern coast rivalled that of the Phoenicians—as Hemeroskopeion and the other two Massaliote emporiums founded later between Cape Nao and Cape Palos. *The oldest Iberian sculpture originated in this region, and its most famous work, the Lady of Elche,* was *found in neighbouring Ilici. This* fact *highlights* the influence *of the three Greek amperes* (1). It is also characteristic that

(1) A lion found in Foce•, in the French excavations *(C. R.* Acod. *dra InTcríp.*, 1920) coincides remarkably with an Iberian figure from the province of Albenea, the lion of Bocairente.

these three cities were located in Tartessian territory and that no sculptural art had developed in the region of Eoiporion and Rhodas. Only the Tartessian empire had the ground prepared for Greek art. The founding of the Greek colonies is also a *terminus* post quem for Iberian sculpture. This sculpture—as can be deduced from its expansion—does not seem to have originated in Hemeroskopeion, but rather in the two colonies founded after the year 5 BC in the Sinus Ilicitanus, from which it can be inferred that Iberian sculptures date from the beginning of the 5th century at the latest (see chapter VI).

In addition to the factorial roads, the forensic experts built *reel roads,* such as the one that ran from Mainake to the Tagus estuary, passing through Tartessos (see chapter VI). The trade route that ran from Tartessos along the eastern coast to the north was also Phoenician, if not in its layout, then at least in its construction, use and name: the •Way of Hercules• (1). It is said that Hercules drove the bulls of Geryoneus to Greece along this road, which means—translated into historical language—that this road started in Tartessos and was the route of silver a n d estafio.

There is another testimony to the Phocaean voyages to Tartessos: the *Ionian* names *of islands and coastal places* found all along the way, on the Italian coast, in Sardinia and Spain, as far as Tartessos. These are names ending in -ouOo«, names that are widespread along the coasts of Asia Minor, in Ionian regions, a n d whose presence in the West reveals,
the passage of the Ionians, the forenses. On the Italian coasts we find: Ht8pxoiiu•u (Isehia) Av8e¡ioúou« (Eseol. Odys. 5. 39), 2'•etpqvoú«i (islands in the Gulf of Saler-

(1) *Dt mir* nusc., 85.

no) (1]. In Cerdefia: *I¿vo'úaaa* (Ionian name for the island). On the eastern Spanish coast: *NyLo"uaaa,* Kpo¡iooúaan (Majorca and Minorca?), *R!ruo!zaaa* (Ibiza), 0 *ç'o5aaa* (Formentera). On the southern coast: H:Tvo'óos‹x (Cape Sabinal), KoZoGousoe (in the Bay of Huelva7), Kozivoósoo, old name of the island of Gades (2). On the south-western coast: áxp« *'O§!oua q* ¢promínens *Ophiuss‹:e:* Avieno, 171), Cape Roca, the extreme point that marks the boundary of the forensic sphere. We know from the old periplus that the neighbouring Tagus estuary was linked t o Tartessos by a forensic trade route (chap. VI).

The name given to the strait also comes from the Iocenses: Pillars of *Hercules* and *Strait of Tartessos (Tar-tessium* /reium, Avienus, 54) or • Gate of Tartessos• (7ap *aa'u* xúk5, in Lykophron, 643) [3]. Once Tartessos was destroyed, its name was replaced by that of Gades in all these expressions (see chapter VI).

The ships 9used by the forenses for their voyages to Tar-tessos are called xsvyxovvopo by Herodotus (1, 163): they were, therefore, large ships with fifty oarsmen (that is, twenty-
on each side) [4], which gives them a length of no less than

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(1) The names of the Italian coasts may come from either the Forenses or the Ealcidios, as the latter reached as far as the Gulf of Naples. For the names of the localities further west, there is no other origin than the Forenses.

(2) Plin. n. h. 4, 120, Escol. Aristof. Plutos, 586: joe kozi•»om t* P«os:-po... ms zar ó optpj ç 8qXoi (the island of Cotinusa, that of Cadiz..., as also shown by the periegeta] . Mela knows of a *lucus 0 trum* near Gades *(*Müllenboff. D . A. I., t13) .

(3) Instead, I read the words iwop« T« oooio. Orph . Argon, 1240 do not refer to the strait (which is mentioned later), but to the hardness of the Tartessos River: ... ‹iv‹i oxó}ie Topyoooio íxó}itfl« ‹w¢keioi t' izúoo¡iiv 'Hpoxk{o; [trss the mouth of the Turteasos •bord•moe to lvi columns of Hercules].

(4) The ancient te8tittionio nÁ'S Antiguo de Ins n•ves de Rincuenla rerDeros is the

thirty metres. In addition to oars, they naturally had sails. The illustration on the front cover of this book, taken from an Attic vase from the second half of the 6th century (1), depicts a Greek merchant ship from the time of Periplus and King Argan-thonios.

The only detailed account of the Phocians' voyages to Tartessos is found in Herodotus. In Book IV, 152, he narrates the discovery of Tartessos by Kolaios of Samos, who was washed ashore there by chance. In 1, 163, Herodotus explains the relations between Tartessos and the Phocians. The Tartessian king Arganthonios, who lived for 120 years and reigned over Tartessos for 80, kindly welcomed the Phocians, gave them money to fortify their city against the Persians, and even invited them to settle in Tartessos. **The Phocians** accepted **the money but not the invitation.** They **fortified** their city **with** Arganthonios' **help**, **but** were nevertheless defeated by Harpalos (545 BC). They then decided to emigrate and build a new home in the West. According to Herodotus, it seems that they considered accepting the hospitable king's invitation, but he had died in the meantime. His successor was undoubtedly not as hospitable as he had been. The Forensians therefore headed for Corsica, where they had founded the colony of Alalia twenty-two years earlier. But here they were confronted by the Carthaginians and the Etruscans.

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epic, which mainly reflects the Phocaean voyages (Iliad, 2, 719, 16, 170, Odyssey 8, 35; compare with 10, 208). The ship painted on a vase, with twenty-four **oarsmen** on **each side and** the pilot also a pentekontorps (Baumejster, Den£mofcr, v. Seewesen, p. 1,599). See also *Darambary•Saglio,* art.
N•vis., p. 25.

(1) British Museum: Guide to the collection of coins, *medals* and coins m«n li/e (ie08), p. 2i4. iig. 223.

allies, and the naval battle they had to fight (around 535) [1], although favourable for the Phocians, caused them to lose so many ships that they abandoned Corsica and settled in southern Italy (2). The battle of Alalia, which drove the Phocians out of the west, was also fatal for Tartessos. It brought the Carthaginians, the sinister successors of the Tyrians, to Spain.

King Arganthonios, who so hospitably welcomed the Phocians, is known to us not only from Herodotus, but also from a beautiful poem by his contemporary Anacreon (see chapter V), in which he praises him as the epitome and symbol of all earthly fortune and, with obvious exaggeration, attributes to him a reign of one hundred and fifty years (3). Arganthonios died before the battle of Alalia and reigned for eighty years. His reign, therefore, spans approximately 620-540. The Phocians befriended him when their homeland was threatened by the Persians, that is, around 550. The name is remarkable: Arganthonios—the 'man of silver'. This must indeed be its meaning, since *argant* in Celtic means silver (see Holder) and Tartessos is the city of silver. In that case, the name of *the* Tartessian *king* would be Celtic, and the Phocians would have learned it from the Celts (4). This is quite possible historically, since the Celts had been living since approximately 600, not only in Spain, in the vicinity of the

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(1) Busolt: *Gr.* Üesc., 2', 75.

(2) Herodotus, 1, 166i Diod., 5, 13, 4i Meltzer. *G. d Karth.,* 1, 163.

(3) All subsequent quotations from A rganthonios are based on Herodotus or Anacreon. (See Holder. *Allkelt. Sprachschatz•)*

(4) This is the belief of Thurneyscn and Dümmler, cited by Bradke, *Cher Melho-*
de *und Engtbnisse der arischen Attert.* lPiss. (1890), p. 24).

Tartessians (1), but also inland from Massalia (Liv. 5, 34,8; Justin, 43, 3, 4). Furthermore, linguistically, the name, composed of *argant* and the Celtic ending *onios* (see Hol-der), has a very Celtic stamp. There a r e other personal names formed with Argant (2). Finally, the name Arganto (3) is found among the Spanish Celts. However, the name cannot be Greek (4)—as it would be composed of "pJupox [silver]—nor can it be Tartessian, because although it is possible that foreigners, admirers of abundant silver, gave the king the name "man of silver," it is unlikely that the Tartessians did so, for whom silver was commonplace a n d ordinary.

In the final days of Tartessos, under the long and happy reign of Arganthonios, the transfiguring light of the last setting sun spreads across the city. Shortly after the king's death, the forensic scientists, the friends of Tartessos, will succumb to the combined forces of the Etruscans and Carthaginians.

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(1) The journey testifies that the Cempsos cultic people bordered on the Tartessian lleates. (Avienus, 301).

(2J Argento-coxus (silver foot), Argant-eilin (silver elbow), Argei-tlan (silver hand): see Windisch, *Dan heltisth« Britannien* (1812), pfig. 117. Argast is also found in place names, such as Argantomagus, Ar-gento-varia, Argento-rate (see Holder).

(3) *Bulletin of* the *Academy of History,* 68 (1916), 41f. Inscription of the e0m8rcA d0 SegObFÍga: *Afganto Me4fulica Melffani f (ilia) et DaleHa ei (uc}*
sor (or) h. s. e.

(4) The name of the mountain 'Ap evGúv, 'Ap¡uv8iuvp, adj. 'Ap¡nvihiiutiov lpoç (Eotef. Bye. R. E., 2, 680), corea de Kios, in Propontis, does not derive from Arganthonios, but has the same root. As it appears for the first time in Apollonius Rodense, it may come from the Galatians.

CAPITULO V

Los viajes focenses a Tartessos reflejados en in ut»ratam

When forensic navigators first crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and saw before them a new sea, unexplored, of a different colour, with different waves and different winds; when in Tartessos they heard talk of the ocean coasts, stretching endlessly northwards, of those northern lands, covered in fog, where during the summer there is no night and during the winter no day, of those anthropomorphic giants who inhabit remote regions, when they returned home and recounted the wonders and horrors of that new oceanic world, all this news must have deeply moved their spirits and excited the Greek imagination to the utmost. Indeed, that new sea could be none other than the Ocean, the sea that surrounds the earth, of which the Greeks had some, albeit obscure, knowledge from the Phoenician sailors who went to Tarshish. Phoenician voyages began around 1200, and Greek voyages around 700. It is therefore not surprising that we already find in Greek epic poetry, especially in its earlier parts (1), a certain notion of the western Ocean and the coasts that lay within it. The myths that follow the amplification of the

(1) In the Odyssey, amber appears as a Phoenician commodity (15, 46, 476). It could therefore be that this poem was largely written before the **Phoenician voyages** to **Thersos, which began shortly before** 700 BC (p. 39).

Geographical knowledge had to be transferred to the new sea, and Ulysses, who had already sailed the **Greek** and **Italian** waters**, left them to row towards the Ocean.**

The Odyssey **gives us clear information** about **the western ocean.** It tells us about the ocean, the land of the West (4, 567, 11, 155), the land of mists (11, 13), and the great sea that can be reached by sailing down the Mediterranean (12, 1). The gentle ocean winds of the Opte (4, 567) also come from here, which must have been greatly admired by Eastern ships, especially since in their country the eephyr was a cold and violent wind (1). Another reflection of the new geographical knowledge is found in what the Odyssey (1, 53) says about the "columns of Atlas, which separate the sky from the earth". This passage has rightly been referred to the two rocks of the Strait of Gibraltar, **which the Phoenicians** called "cotuEQnas" and which **the** Greeks later named "the Pillars of Hercules". Likewise, the story of the short summer nights in the North (Odyssey, 10, 86) was transmitted by the Tartessians who traded with the Oestrymnians, who sailed around the British Isles (2). Similarly, the fable of the Cimmerians, shrouded in eternal night (Odyssey, 11, 15-19), seems to refer to the long winter nights of the North (see R. E. XI, 427). It is also possible that the tale of the Laestrygonians, anthropomorphic giants, is based on real events, because the Oestrymnians reached the North Sea, where the Celts, the giants of the North, then lived, and cannibalism was practised in Great Britain (3) and in the sea of

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(i) vaiker: oo»‹r. *cong.,* 8i.

(2) In which the phenomenon was observed: Caesar, *B.* .Go21, S, 13; Tacitus J,g'ric., 12; Pliny, 2, 186, Dio. Cass., 76, 13.

(3) Eatrabón, 201; Diod., 5, 32, etc...

North (1). There is also a very notable coincidence between what the Odyssey says (11, 13 ff.) when it places the entrance to the underworld in the misty land of the Cimmerians, and what the Periplus says when it relates the land of mist to the Anas (Guadiana) cOt1 ° *(R) (s) us Erebea and* the *goddess* in/ern‹i. This coincidence
justifies the hypothesis that the poet had heard
of the region of the Anas and the Tinto River (2).

In fact, later writers have also placed the underworld and the infernal lagoon in the region of Tartessos.

1. Strabo, 194: eix‹tCo: dv ux dxoúovz‹x zepl T«pynooii Tóv Tóp-z«pov ixti8w zopovop.do«: [it can be believed that having heard the name Tartarus derived from Tartessos], 2. Suidas:

Ταρτησσός, Ἰβηρικὴ πόλις, πρὸς τῷ Ὠκεανῷ παρὰ τὴν Ἄορνον λίμνην.

ç be Topy0nóo 'ApJnvíhiiv:oG *e}aaiLzoa-•v* [Tartessos, an Iberian city on the ocean, near Lake Averno—a lake without birds—•, Arganthonios reigned over Tartessos]; 3. Escol. Aristof. Ranas,

478: í bt T•p ••àG "I '‹p!xi •o*:ç Cep r• "Aopvo'• Aíi•'•s• [Tartes-sos, Iberian city, next to Lake Averno]. That "Aopvoç lttoq near Tartessos is Ía *palus Erebea [* Erebea lagoon] (cod.
Etrephaea) near Erbi (La Rábida) and the sanctuary of the goddess *of the underworld* that the periplus (Avienus, 243 ff.) found at the mouth of the River Tinto (see chapter IX).

In Hesiod we find more accurate data and, so to speak, the first unquestionable reflection of the Phocian voyages. Hesiod strives to adapt the myths of the epic to the

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(1) The name Ambrones, inhabitants of the island of Amrum, in the North Sea, means devourers of men. See the glosses in Holder,
•. Ambrones: A. deooruíores Aominurn, which later ignorance transformed *into devourers and 'atrimonii, luxurio'i›* etc., something that I do not agree with at all in relation to the Ambrones.

(2) Müllonhoff. D. A., 1, 62; 118.

new and broader geographical knowledge; it places Ulysses' adventures on the newly discovered coasts of Italy and Sicily (Fragm., 65-68 Rzaeh), which are already known to the younger parts of the Odyssey (Sikania, Sikelos). It mentions the Tyrrhenians and the Latins (Z'/ieog., 1.013), following the Locrians, who were the first to sail these coasts (see p. 39). He continues the itinerary of these sailors along the Iberian and Tartessian coasts, meeting Geryoneus tricípite, son of an Oceanid and inhabitant of the island of Erytheia, the island of the sunset, in the West. Geryoneus is, as we have already seen (chapter III), the Tartessian king Geron, and at the same time the god of the river, which divides into three branches; this god is soon after clearly located by Stesichorus in the river Tartessos. Later times confused Erytheia with the island of Gades, but originally Erytheia was the island formed by the delta of the Tartessos (see chapter 111). And if Geryon was moved to the region of Tartessos, it is also because his figure belonged to the underworld (R. E. VII, 1.920), that is, he fit well with the *palus* f*re6en, near Tartessos. Hesiod also placed the underworld in the region of Tartessos; this can be inferred from his description of the Stygian palace, located next to the Ocean and supported by silver columns (*Theog.,* 779), a clear allusion to the city of silver next to the Ocean.

Once Geryon was located in Tartessos, Hercules followed him to the spot. It is characteristic that the last three adventures of Hercules, which are also the last three inventions of his epic (1)—the bulls of Geryon, the man-

(1) The three western adventures already appear in last place in the metopes of the Temple of Olympian Zeus (Preller-Robert: *Grizch. Mythology,* 2, 2, 436).

golden apples of the Hesperides, Cerberus—were set in the western regions recently discovered by the forensics. The two prominent rocks that flank the strait were then given the name •Hercules' Pillars•.

The oldest testimony we have about Hercules' journey in search of Geryon's bulls is the Pypoovqís [Ge-ryoneida] by Stesichorus, from which Strabo has preserved that invaluable fragment we have already quoted. Stesichorus dedicated two poems to Hercules' western adventures: the Geryoneida and the Cerbero. The poet, living in Sicily, enjoyed being in closer contact with the western regions, and it is possible that the forenses, on their travels, sometimes stopped in his city, Hiciera. This fragment reveals a knowledge •de visu• that only the forenses could have had. The poet knows that the source of the Tartessos is in the silver mountain, near Castulo, and that it flows into the island of Erytbeia, the island of the delta, which the Periplus calls Cartare. But there is another fragment by Stesichorus that reveals the same precise knowledge and equal proximity to the Periplus, this fragment...

-ento refers to an island called 5arpedón, in the Atlantic Ocean (1). I believe (2) that this island, mentioned in the Geryoneida and probably located near Tartessos, was the home of the Gorgons (Suidas, Phot. Zepz$boY(e ‹ixJ [pro-montorio de Sarpedon]), is none other than the •castle of Geron›, mentioned in the Periplus and located on the breakwater at the mouth of the Tartessos. My assumption is strengthened by

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(1) Escol. Apoll. Rhod., 1, 211: Ztqo. ti i• Pppooyíii xcl yd0v ‹iv« sv T@ 'AXkOVstx4¡Í Wk‹íJe£ bob @ ot (Estesieoro, in the Geryoneida, also says that there is an island called Scrpodoni• in the Atlantic Ocean].

(t) See Avieno's edition, p. 132.

more because of the identity of Geron's castle with the axp« 1 s«unov (see chap. III), Glaueos and Sarpedon being two heroes who always go together.

Apollodorus' reference to Hercules' journey (2, 5, 10, see Diod., 4, 17-18) is based on a good ancient tradition—perhaps on Pisander, who composed an epic poem about Hercules in the 6th century. Indeed, Apollodorus does not m e n t i o n Gades, as later writers do, but Tartessos, and he also knows several topographical details that are not found in later writers. Arriving i n Tartessos a n d Erytheia, the hero camps on Mount Abas. This may be the mons *Cosritis* of the Periplus, the peak of the chain of dunes to the west of Tartessos (see chapter IX). The river Anthemos, river of flowers, beside which Hercules kills Geryoneus, would therefore be the Tartessos, which undoubtedly deserved such a description because of its beautiful meadows (Justino, 44, 4). In the 5th century, Hellanikos (frag. 41), Pherecydes (frag. 33 and Eitrabon, 169), Herodotus and others wrote about Hercules' journey to Tartessos. It is known that Pherecydes led the hero to Tartessos (Iraq. 33). Herodoros (frag. 20) named the Iberian tribes that the hero encountered on his journey from Tartessos to the Pillars (1): Cinetas, Tartessians, Elbysinios (Olba), Celcianos (=== the Cilbiceni of the Periplus). This information also comes from ancient sources, as in the 5th century this region belonged to Carthage a n d was off-limits to Greeks. The news of the northern ocean, which the Tartessians gave to the forensic scientists, is also reflected in what Herodotus heard about a journey made by the hero from Erytheia—along the western coast.

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(1) V. Her»cs, 1914, tS3.

from the Ocean—to the Scythians (4, 8). It is said (1) that Hecateus also reported that the Argonauts set out into the northern Ocean via the Phasis and—sailing southwards along the western coasts—reached the western mouth of the Nile in the Atlantic Ocean (2). Furthermore, the trade route that ran along the eastern coast of Spain was called by the forensic experts the Way of Hercules, since it was the Phocians who, if they did not build it, at least used this route primarily (see p. 44).

In addition to Hercules' struggle with Geryon, there are other myths that were also set in Tartessos. For example, the struggle of Zeus with the giants.

1. ° School. Iliad. 8, 479: Pi)evTe¢ iv Tap *aah (*xóktç úe i•ti»

Ζεὺς δὲ συναντήσας αὐτοῖς καταγωνίζεται πάντας. καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτοὺς

i¢ 'Epe§ov, rJ corp" K povip Jv zoúiiuv)ootkcíov *raqa0'o"uiatv,* 'O‹píuir‹t

t HOY OKOtfV TC (dV TCP Ufi 2 t 2tY Kate}t9¥ ÍáOT0t Ó 0 Ç tft! 2'ÇCUAL UO Cg'

enron 'O i‹iiv!ov zponoJopev8ev. [The giants in Tartessos—this city is next to the Ocean—were preparing a great war against Zeus. But Zeus, having surprised them, defeated them all. And having sent them to Erebus, he gave their kingdom to his father Kronos and defeated Ophion, who seemed to be the leader of them all, by throwing a mountain on top of him, which is why it is called Ophion• ttÍOR.)

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(1) Eseol. Apoll. Rhod., 4, 259; v. B+rget, *Erdhunde d.* Griechen, °4S.

(2) Timaeus (Diod., 4, 56) and other later mythographers (A poll. Rhod., 4, 63f; Orpheus, Argon, 1180-1245) recount that the Argonauts set sail from the Tanais, or Rhine, to the Ocean and arrived at Gades. However, this information does not come from Phoenician tradition, but from the new discoveries of Pythagoras, , whom Timaeus follows. The same is true of the journey of Hercules a n d Ulysses to Germania (Tac. Germ., 3; 34) and Caledonia (Solino., 22, 1).

2. Justin, 44, 4, 1: *Saltuo* cero *Tarte•siorum,* in *quibus Titanes bellum adoersum* deos ***gessisse*** *f:meditar, incoluere* Cu-redes, *quorum rex ' eiustissimus Gargor is, etc... [*but the forests of the Tartessians, where the Titans, according to legend, waged war against the gods, were inhabited by the Curetes, whose king was the very old Gargoris, etc...] (see chap. 111).

3. 'Thallus. Fr. 2 (F. H. G. III, 517), according to the amendment by

Míiller (see p. 518 of F. H. G. III): .... Kpc»o¢ (1) 8eis i$vJe cix Topyouóv [Kronos, defeated, fled to Tartessos].

This location of Erebus, the Titans and the Curetes in Tartessos was undoubtedly caused by the *Erebea,* the infernal lagoon near the city of Herbi, which, due to the similarity of its name to Erebus, became associated with it (see chapter IX). Finally, the similarity of the name Ophionion to Ophiussa, the forensic name of the peninsula, undoubtedly also contributed to this location. Perhaps IgualD2eRtC has been confused with the moDte OpÜÍORÍO£t **COR** El ZZtOltJ ***COSSius*** of the periplus (see chapter IX). The *saltus Tartesaiorum* could be identified with the f2toftS *TarteS8iorum siltfis* OpOCtfs of the Periplus (Avienus, 308), the dunes covered with pine trees between the mouth of the Bette and Cádiz. The Curetas were located in this place because of the similarity of their name to the *íitus Curen•e,* the gOl(O of Gado.S (**PIÍII., 3**, 7: *litu8 CureRSe in Sexo Sinuz Cuiu8 ex ad'eerao Gades).* The identification of Iberian names with Greek myths is common in Spain (2).

The myth of the Gorgons was also located in Tartessos.

(I} E **teato eonoerv•do adds:** zar "D¡uj

(2) Olisipo and Oduoio, from **Odycseua;** Tudo, from **Tyduaa; Asturcs, from Astyr** te•je from Memon); Nebri»•, from l• nebris d» Dionyso , etc. (. Site 3, s32• **405, Strabo, p. 157).**

Escol. Lycophr. v. 653 (p. 228, 27 Scheer): ñ»oz2pxa' a' Pop}óveç ü *Pag-‹:fao"q q* 'I§qpíoç xdv =veç ev Tapaui our‹iç kc}ooo'v [as well as the Gorgons in Tartessos in Iberia, although some say in Tarsus], 838 (p. 270, Scheer): i¡\8w iz' «uzdc ‹ds PopJó•uç Ú' 'OxenrJ ooo‹x¢ rep' zobi• I§ppí«¢ v Topyonóv [went to the Gorgons, who are in the Ocean, near the city of Tartessos in IberiaJ. See Hesiod, Theog., 274. The descendant
of the Gorgon Medusa is Chrysaor, father of Geryon (see
chapter III).

The sea god Glaukos was also located in Tartessos. He, along with Jepov [old man of the sea] (R. E. VII, 1410), was attributed with the promontory at the mouth of the Tartessos River, which was named after the Tartessian king Geron, the *arx Geroiifiz* of Avieno. The confusion of the sea god Glaukos with the Lycian Glaukos, Sarpedon's companion, led to the cape also being named Sarpedon, so that the two Lycian heroes had a sacred place in the far west (see p. 73 ff.). Another Greek hero who moved to Tartessos was Menesteus, who was worshipped at Portus Menesthei (Port of Santa Maria). He was also the patron saint of sailors.

Forensic journeys also influenced Greek art. The myth of Hercules and Geryon was a favourite theme in Achaean art. The oldest known representation of this theme—on the Kypselos box and on a proto-Corinthian pyxis from around 650 (/ournafo/HeJfeniaStud(ies}1884,176)—dates back to the 7th century, that is, to the time of Estesichorus. In eastern Greece, the giant was depicted with three bodies, while in the west he was depicted with three heads (R. E. VII, 1291). On a Chalcidian vase, we find the struggle depicted as Apollodorus describes it. The hero is seen with his bow drawn, aiming at

T«poFóvqx, depicted with three bodies, while the shepherd Eopuxituv and the dog Orthos—the latter unnamed—are already out of action. Behind Hercules and in front of the conquered bulls appears Athena. On the Attic **vases,** in addition to the goddess, **there is** a figure of a woman next to a palm tree; this is undoubtedly the personification of Erytbeia (1).

Just as **the** first**,** still obscure, **references** to **Tartessos are reflected in the literature of the 8th-7th centuries (see p. 67 ff.), so** too do later forensic **voyages** leave a deep mark on the literature of the 6th century.

Anacreon, who comes from Teos, a city near the Forenses, cites King Arganthonios, the friend of the Phocians, as a compendium of all earthly fortune, and converts the 120 years of life enjoyed by that famous king into 150 years of reign. (F. 8, Bergk):

'É}ul b' oUr' ‹ÍY 'ApCÁ8t\Ç

Tepyosoii)nntlsunei
[I nor Amalthea would want
eternity, nor a hundred and
fifty years
reign over **Tartessos.]**

The following phrase is quoted from an unknown poet (Estef., see T«çyoo•s): ..... T«pJo0tov ofi§iov Guy [the fortunate city of Tartessos].

For Greek geography, voyages to Tartessos represent progress comparable only to the discoveries of Alexander and Columbus. The explorers doubled the extent of the inhabited world to the west; they were the first to...

(1) Klein, *EuphronioP p.* 56.

provided a more accurate knowledge of the ocean up to the North Sea. These discoveries were undoubtedly used in the world map sketched by Anaximander (1) and completed by Hecataeus (2). Unfortunately, we do not know to what extent. But if that map represented the ocean as a current of water around the earth (3), this conception was no longer a pure supposition, as in Achilles' shield (Iliad, XVIII, 607), but a scientific hypothesis based on the knowledge that explorers had acquired of the ocean as far as the North Sea. The aforementioned world map should not, therefore, represent only the western basin of the Mediterranean.

—now known as a closed set—with the Libyan and Iberian coasts and the Strait of the Pillars, but also the city and river of Tartessos and the Ocean, with Oestrymnis, Albion, Ieme, and perhaps also the Ligurian coast with the Eridanus-Elbe. And this, in fact, is what seems to emerge from the controversy that Herodotus (3, 115) maintains against these things (4), a controversy in which Herodotus adopts the same punishable attitude towards forensic discoveries that Polybius and Strabo later adopted towards the discoveries of Pytheas.

The most valuable document that has come down to us about the Phocaean voyages is *the voyage of a Massa-Liota* navigator *from the late 6th century.* This old voyage, the main testimony we have about Tartessos, has suffered the same fate

(1) Berger, *Erdkunde d. Criechen,* 2, 25.

(2) Jacoby, R. E. VII, 2.690-91.

(3) Berger, 54; Herodotus, 4, 36; R. E., VII, 11 702.

(4) Horodoto can only understand the Cansitórides islands as the tin islands of Brittany, already known to forensic scientists (Avieno 96); in fact, those in the northwest of Spain were not known until much later.

Fortunately, the ancient capital of the Guadalquivir: like this one, it has remained obscure and misunderstood. It was generally dated to the 5th-6th century, and this error in dating prevented its importance from being recognised, especially for the latter days of Tartessos. It is not possible for me to explain the journey here; readers can consult my annotated edition, which has just been published as the first volume of the *Fontes HisR* collection *' ••!•'- qu‹e (1), you can also read an article of mine for guidance in the magazine *Spaníen* (2).

The voyage has been preserved by a later Latin writer, in the Ora maritima by the patrician and poet Avienus, who, in 4 AD, influenced by the prevailing interest in ancient and remote texts, composed a description of the Mediterranean, beginning with the old voyage. However, Avienus did not use the original directly, but rather a Greek schoolbook from the 1st century BC (3), a versification of the geography and description of the coasts by Euphros (4), who, for his part,

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(1) Berlin, Weidmann, and Barcelona (A. Boch bookshop) 1922.

{2) Hamburg. Ibero-American Institute, 1921.

(3) This intervention in the Greek book can be deduced from the following clues: J. Since the adaptation is a poem in iambic trimeters, it cannot be earlier than 100 CE, since Apollodorus, in au /i)Ç &pío8@ (description of the world) and in the Chronicle, was the first to translate the didactic poem into trimeters. C., since Apollodorus, in au /i)Ç &pío8@ (description of the world) and in the Chronicle, was the first to translate the didactic poem el triuiotro de la comodiu (Eccimno, v. 20 et seq., especially S4). 2. The adapter offers notable similarities with ESeimno, composed around 90 BC. It coincides in the prologue, in the apologia to old authors, in the new, in the table of contents, in the source (Eforos). See my edition of Avieno, p. 35 ff.

(4) The authors' citations, from Hecntoo hnata Thucydides (Aviono, 42 et seq.) can only come from Ephorus, since this writer, who was an Ionic, used the old Ionian science in his Geogro@n and, as Escimno shows, had the value of a canon in 100 BC. Now, on this date, the adaptation was made. For more details, see my edition of Avion, p. 32 et seq.

He copied the old journey, not without interpolating pieces from authors of the 6th and 5th centuries—from Hecataeus to Thucydides. Among these interpolations are some that constitute invaluable fragments, such as the pieces describing a voyage to the tin islands by the Carthaginian admiral Himilcon and pieces of the voyage of the Athenian Euktemon, a contemporary of Perieles. Neither the Greek schoolmaster nor Avienus himself could resist the temptation to make some rather foolish additions of their own. Avienus also takes pleasure in surrounding the cities mentioned in the voyage with an atmosphere of historical romanticism; to do so, he simply changes the present tense of the original to the past tense, adding pathetic lamentations about the prosperity of yesteryear and the desolation of today. For example, v. 509:

adslabat return civitas Labedontia priore
s‹eclo, nunc ager *vatu nc lare lustra* el
ferarum suctinet cu6ifin
[there was the city of Labedontia
in the last century; today it is a field without homes,
which serves as a refuge and retreat for wild beasts]

or what he says about Tartessos, v. 270:

...mtilta tt opnlenc civitaz
ocio *cietusto,* nunc egenn, nunc *bre is,*
nunc *destituta, nunt riiinarum aggar* est.
[Once an opulent city, today it is bare, diminished, abandoned,
reduced to piles of ruins.]

Fortunately, it is possible to remove the dross from these three interpolations and bring to light the old pure gold (1). And what emerges after this work is nothing less than the de-

(1) In my edition of Avienus, I have distinguished by means of a reel different varice layers of the Ore morifime.

description that a Massaliote navigator and researcher from approximately 530 BC makes of his journey from Tartessos to Massalia. The periplus is *the most* important monument of his *geogre-h• z•!•x•! !• First description of the West and the North* remote, the first reliable news of Sparta, whose peninsular character peninsular nature appears here clearly known for the first time (Avienus, 148 ff.), of Britain, of the British Isles, of the coasts of the North Sea; the voyage constitutes an exquisite example of ancient Ionian ίwopiq, which in its simplicity recalls the art of that same period. The old sailor describes his journey from Tartessos to Massalia: the coast, with its promontories and the sections between them, sections that are either rocky or sandy, the nearby islands, where all kinds of unknown indigenous deities dwell, the mountains, the coastal forests, the bays, the harbours, the lagoons. The navigator names above all—for this is his main interest—the tribes and cities, not only those on the coast, but sometimes also those inland. But his geographical horizon reaches even further. In Tartessos, he heard about the voyages that the Tartessians made to Oestrymnis (Britain) in search of tin and the daring voyages of the Oestrymnians to the north, to the islands of Lerne and Albion, where they collected tin, and to the North Sea, where they bought amber. The Massaliote's personal vision only extends as far as Tartessos or the Tagus estuary, linked to Tartessos by a trade route; that is why the exact description begins here and the Anas is the first river and Erbi (next to Huelva) the first city mentioned. Of the regions further north, he only knows and names the main points. Thus, the description consists of three parts: one on Massalia, another on Tartessos and another on Oestrymnia.

Mfillenhoft (D. A. 1, 202) made the almost inconceivable mistake

The Periplus expresses its hostility towards the Phoenicians as clearly as its Greek character. It does not name a single one of the four Phoenician cities.

—Gades, Malaca, Sexi, Abdera—, since the names Gades and Malaea that appear in Avienus are erroneous interpolations by the adapter, who put them in place of Tartessos and Mainake (267, 426). There is one particularly characteristic detail, which is that the navigator does not mention the famous temple of Hercules in Cadiz, but instead cites the unknown sanctuary of an indigenous sea goddess on the island of San Sebastián. The Phoenicians are mentioned, but only in the sense of a geographical concept (421, 440, 459). No reasonable person would admit that a Massaliote navigator would name the Carthaginians, his mortal enemies. In fact, the places where they are mentioned (Avienus 114, 311, 376) are part of obvious interpolations (1). The old sailor of the Periplus was *Greek.* This is known from his use of numerous Greek o r Hellenised names (2). He was also *a Greek from* Ionia, as demonstrated by the Ionian endings in -gym (Cilbiceni, Massieni, Sordicen), in -q (Cartare), ítpJ vjao¢ (*sacra insula,* lerne. Avieno 108), in — tree (Cynetes, Ceretes, etc...). Finally, it was *Massaliote* as evidenced by numerous details: the Tartessos-Massa-lia route, the importance given to Pyrene, emporium of the Massaliotes; the exact topography of the two cities, Tartessos and Massalia, with their rivers, the Tartessos and the Rhône, the fact of beginning the exact personal description by the Tagus estuary, limit

(1) See my edition of Avienus, p. 35.

(2) Greeks: Callipolis, Ophiussa, Gymnetes, Zephyris, Treto, Ligyes, Herma, Cherronesus, Strongile. Hellenised: Theodorus for Tader, Cynote for Konios, Calacticus sirius for Kalathe.

of Phoenician trade; the great detail of the description of the Massaliote coasts (from Pyrene to Massalia); the exclusion of the Phoenicians, and, above all, the reference to the two Massaliote trade routes, one that took seven days from the port of Vizeaya to the Massaliote coast, and the other that took nine days from the Massaliote colony of Mainake to Tartessos and the Tao estuary.

The journey has come down to us anonymously. Could its author be the Massaliote geographer Euthymenes, who explored the west coast of Africa in the 6th century and wrote a zepizkov¢ ti}¢ estu 8if.*óa z*[circumnavigation of the outer sea](1). The origin, period, and education all match our periplus, even the object itself. Euthymenes had to stop at Tartessos on both his outward and return journeys, as Tartessos was the obligatory starting point for a voyage across the ocean. It is also plausible that Euthymenes described not only the voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules, but also the section between Massalia and Tartessos. In short, the fact that the author of our voyage did not personally set sail for the north, giving only the news obtained in Tartessos about the northern regions, confirms our identification with Euthymenes, who seems to have visited only the African coasts. The *date* of *the voyage is of* great importance for Tartessos, because the voyage is the last authentic testimony of the city on the Guadalquivir, and therefore a *terminus post* quem for its destruction. I believe I can set the date of the voyage at around 530 BC. The battle of Alalia in 537 is a terminus post quem for the Periplus. In effect, the Carthaginians already dominate the sea and close the route to Tartessos to the forenses. This is

(1) V. eobre e•te geógzafo,}aaoby R. E. VI, 1509.

It infers the existence of two land routes: Mainake-Tar-tessos-Tagus estuary (verse 178) and Gulf of Vizcaya-Mediterranean (v. 148). Previous commentators on Avienus have overlooked the value of this testimony. The road from Mainake to Tartessos—five days—only makes sense if the inhabitants of Mainake were unable to take the sea route, which was much more comfortable and shorter—three days. And the extension of the road from Tartessos to the Tagus estuary shows that the Carthaginians had also blocked Tartessos by land, so that the inhabitants of Mainake were forced to go to the Tagus River in search of the tin that the Tartessians brought there from Oestrimnis.

The other land route connects the coast of Massaliota with the coast of the Ocean and the Bay of Biscay, where the Tartessians brought tin. This route can only be understood if the Massaliotes had closed the sea route to Tartessos, because although the journey by road was shorter—seven days instead of nine—(1), it was more dangerous, as it forced travellers to pass through regions inhabited by savage peoples. It is most likely that this land route was opened when the Carthaginians closed the road leading to the Tagus estuary. This state of affairs places us, then, in the period immediately following the battle of Alalia, for the Carthaginians had not yet resorted to their last resort, the destruction of Mainake and Tartessos. Our navigator could still sail to Tartessos, and the Tartessians could still head north in search of the estafio.

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(1) The journey from Massalia to Pirene takes two days, and from Pirone to Tar• tessos, seven days.

The foundation of the Massaliote colony Eoiporíon, on the other hand, constitutes a *termines* ende quem. According to data from Greek vessels, this colony was founded before the year 5IXI (1). However, the voyage does not mention Emporiou or Rhodas, and it is impossible to suppose that it would have omitted these two important Massaliote trading posts if they had already existed at that time. Another *term* is the first trade treaty between Rome and Carthage. This treaty, which dates from 509, completely closes the sea route to Tartessos to Rome and its allies, mainly the Massaliots (2). The voyage therefore took place after 537 and before 509, that is, approximately in 530. This date also explains the coincidence with Hecataeus, who wrote around 510 (R. E. VII, 2670) and the ca-

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(1) Frickenhaus, Bonner Jahrbuch, 1909, 24: •In this necropolis, as in the entire region of the city, no remains of pottery have been found prior to the second half of the 6th century; instead, there are many vases dating from after 550, as well as pottery from Cyprus and Asia Minor, Naoussa, Chalcidice, Corinth and Italo-Corinthian, which *do* not *reappear after the* 6th century. Thus, the necropolis indicates the date on which the city was founded.

(2) The words "(pj R‹v tnt«ivo zo• K«koo d pi»ysíoo [do not sail beyond the beautiful promontory] quoted by Polybius, 3, 22, do not refer, as Polybius believed, to sailing east of the beautiful promontory (Cape Fari• na), towards the emporia, but r a t h e r to sailing westwards, towards T•rteasos. For those who do not understand this for themselves, see the demonstration of this by Meltzer, *Gazch. d. Karthagar 1*, 180, 488. Therefore, in the second treatise of 348 BC, to complete (zpóoxstz«t, says Polybius), Cape Farina is also added.

"non plus ultras of the African coast, • Mastia in T•rsis" as •non plus ultra" of the Spanish coast The first treaty is truly from the year 509 and not, as Mommsen believed, from 348. This has been well demonstrated by Nissen (Fleckeisons jahrbücher, 95, 1867), although it is still disputed. But we must take two things into account: 1. The difficulty of reading, which Polybius points out (iíioxe zoJ ouvsiurtTtovç tvm pélu; é2 iufrtzíaoiq biauxpivti' m , so that e v e n the most knowledgeable find it quite difficult to discern), could undoubtedly come from a document from the end of the 6th century—piúoneie in the wake of the forum—but not from one from the year 348; a n d , 2. that Polybius a n d his Roman friends were struggling to read the inscription with its date.

raeter arcaieo from his description of the land and its inhabitants. He gives the peninsula the old names of Oestrymnis and Ophiussa. The Ligurian people, the oldest historical people in the West, who were later reduced to the Riviera of Genoa, still occupy numerous places in their former territory, which once comprised the whole of Western Europe as far as the Rhine and the Danube. The Periplus knows of Ligurian populations in the North Sea, in the British Isles

—to which he gives the pre-Celtic names of Lerne and Albion—on the western coast of Gaul (the Oestrymnios), in Spain (Oestrymnios, Draganos, *Lacus Ligustinus, Cynetes, Litus Cineticum).* The Iberians are still confined t o the south a n d east coasts, as the interior is still populated by the Eltas (Cempsos, Se-les, Berybraces). The Gauls have not yet reached the Mediterranean. The names mentioned in the periplus also have a marked stamp of antiquity. Few of them are found a g a i n in later sources. Of the thirty cities mentioned in the Periplus, twenty are completely unknown, an unmistakable sign of the antiquity of both the Periplus and those cities.

The rivers, mountains, islands, etc., bear ancient names that have disappeared, such as Iberus instead of Luxia (Rio Tinto), Sica-nus instead of Suero (Júcar), Chrysus instead of Barbesula (**Guadiaro) O/eum j/'umen (in Greek** 'EK«io4, probably from the Iberian Elaisos) instead of Iberus (Ebro).

The old navigator has left us invaluable information about the state of Tartessos shortly before its destruction by the Carthaginians. Tartessos is the most important object of his interest, as well as the starting point of his journey. He mentions its name no less than fourteen times. He is content to name the other cities, but he describes the topography of Tartessos

devotes thirty verses (265-307, from which eleven verses about Gades interpolated by Avienus must be removed). We will deal with this description in detail later (in chapter IX). For now, it suffices to note that the Periplus clearly describes Tartessos as a city (Avienus 290 *cieitatis,* 297 *mi:enia). As* a result of the special importance it gives to Tartessos, the Periplus also describes the delta and the course of the river from its mouth to its source in the silver mountain (291), with the tribes that inhabit its banks. In other matters, and in keeping with its character, the Periplus limits itself to describing the coasts.

There is only one other river to which the voyage confers the same honours as the Tartessos: the river of Massalia, the Rhône, whose course it also describes from its source to its mouth, with the peoples who inhabit its banks (689-704). The Guadalquivir and the Rhône, Tartessos and Massalia are thus marked by this preference as the beginning and end of the journey. The Periplus also tells us of the great extent of the Tartessian empire, which stretched from the Anas in the west to Cape Nao in the east, with many tribes and cities under its rule. The territory of the capital alone occupied the entire river delta, from the eastern mouth to the Tin-to River. Tartessos ruled not only over the tribes of the coast, but also over those of the interior as far as the Sierra Morena. Even the old Phoenician cities, their former masters, are now once again subject to their sovereignty.

There is another geographical reference to forensic trips to Tartessos, which bears a close resemblance to the journey. Find me in Estéf. Byz. v. T«pyooos: T«pTqo•ó¢ zo4tx ’I)qpioç,

d o 0T«{i00 r0u d o r0¢ ’A¡iJ0¢Oó S{i0Ux pe0vT0x, 0«Ttx 0T«¡-toG x«i

xaaaírepov ú Tag *aah* xeTu$éptt. [Tartessos, city of Iberia,

next to the river that flows from the silver mountain, which river carries tin to Tartessos.]

The fragment is probably not by Heeateo, as this geographer seems to have begun his periegesis in the columns (see p. 110) (1), but it undoubtedly comes from the giglo vi, since after this period no one is familiar with these regions. The remarkable coincidence between the aforementioned fragment and the Periplus also supports this hypothesis. The Periplus, in fact, states (Avienus, 291, 297) not only that the river originates in the silver mountain, but also that it carries tin to the city. For the same reasons, we must place the following fragment in the 6th century: Estéf. AiJoniivp, zókis A t¡«» zj 3o-ixí, 'I§ - ç«s 2¡¡3c x«' ç Topynoo5 zI\oío'z. [Ligustina, a Ligurian city towards western Iberia and close to Tartessos.] This corresponds to the f‹iciis *ligustinus* of the periplus (Avienus 284) and comes from a time when Tartessos still existed.

The following excerpts from Hecateus refer to tribes and cities of the Tartessos empire (2).

1. Estéf. 'Eli§up}p, zoltç T‹tpyssou, 'Exeter›; Eopoi-ó. [Elibyrga, city of Tartessos, Hecateus in Europe.] /Iliturgis near Córdoba7

* 2. Estéf. 'I§o\Io, zólu; T«pi\oí«¢ ... rap' ou ¡i°roIkn */paao!* xci *p}upoo. [Ibulla, city of Tartessos..., in which there are gold and silver metals.] Jllipa near Seville?

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(1) F. Jacoby tends to attribute the fragment to Hecataeus and also refers to him in relation to the information provided by Herodotus on the eomareas beyond the columns (RE. VII, 2710). However, it should be noted that there have been other descriptions of these lands in addition to those of Hecataeus (see ea-

pítulo VII).

(2) The fragments marked with * are anonymous, but can be attributed to Hecataeus, see *Fonlea Http. ent.› 1,* 133.

3. Estćf. *JYlaar yvoi',* i8voç zpòç z‹ží¢ 'Hp‹xxkeici¢ *a fiLa‹ç,* 'Ex«râioç Eòp‹ím$, elpĘioi òt àzà Î¥ionTíuç zo4cuiç. [Mastienos, tri-bu in the columns of Hercules, Hecateo in Europe; they are so named after the city of Mastia.]

* 4th Estél. Zóekiq, xo4u; Me•ztĘvú». [Sualis, city of the Mastienos]: it is Suel.

S.° Estéf. ZíĘox, zòktc M«øHĘvüiv. [Sixos, city of the Mastienos]: Sexi.

6. ° Estéf. M‹tivò)ope, zòliç MooTt qvíòv, 'łixe7oioc EópŃz$. [Mainobora, city of the Mastienos, Hecateo in Europe.] Mainake, see p. 59 ff.

7. ° Estét. Mokù§ò‹tv«, coin MeOxiqv‹iiv, 'Exexœîoq Eupu› . [Molybdana, city of the Mastieni, Hecateus in Europe.]

According to Hecataeus, the empire of Tartessos also encompasses the entire valley of the Bœtis, since this geographer mentions Elibyrga (Íliturgis , near Córdoba7) , as zóliç T‹ipyoso"o, and lbylła (llipa, near Seville) as xòliç Top ooíaG. With the words zókiG Tapw¡oØ0*o, Hecateus also refers to the empire of Tartessos as the empire of the *city* of Tartessos. Hecateus, like the Periplus, knows the Mastians (ír. 6-10), Mainake (Mainobora, k. 8), Kalathe (fr. 3. see *Calaoticus sinus* in Avienus 424), and agrees with the Periplus on the topography of the eastern coast. Fragment 349 of Hecateus refers to Ge-ryon and Erytheia, which, according to Hecateus, should not be sought outside the Pillars of Hercules, but in Ambracia. Hecateus, therefore, rejects the location of the land of Geryoneus in the West.

The following later reports also come from ancient sources, close to the periplus:

1. ' Dionysius. Perieg. (Geogr. Gr. Min., ed. Müller II), v. 337 et seq.:

Ταρτησός χαρίεσσα, ῥυηφενέων πέδον ἀνδρῶν,
Κέμψοι θ' οἱ ναίουσι ὑπαὶ πόδα Πυρηναῖον.

[Tartessos, the graceful land of wealthy men,
and the Cempsos who dwell at the foot of the Pyrenees],

from which Avienus, *Orb. terrae* 480:

..... indeque Cem(p)si
gens agit, in ruR!• vestigia Pyren‹em
protendens populos .....

[From there comes the race of the Cempsos, whose peoples extend extend to the regions of the Pyrenean mountains.]

The Kt¡i{«i correspond to the *cempsi* of the Periplus, and appear only in the Periplus and in Dionysius, a notable coincidence that demonstrates that Dionysius based his work on the Periplus or on a text similar to the Periplus. Another coincidence with the Periplus is the fact that the Kc(i}‹›i are mentioned alongside Tartessos, as being close to this city, a n d that Tartessos appears as still existing.

2. The 'AopvoG kí¡ivp [Averna lagoon — without birds] cited on page 71 corresponds to the *palus Erebea* of the Periplus.

3. The fable of the tin carried by Tartessos—Avienus 297 and Steph. Byz. already cited—is also found in a third text (1), in Eforos (fr. 5, Dopp.): Escimn., v. 162:

... μετὰ ταύτην **(Gades)** δ΄ ἐστὶν, ἡμερῶν δυοῖν
τελέσαντι πλοῦν **(2)**, ἐμπόριον εὐτυχέστατον

(1) See also Eustathius, to Dionysius, 357 (G. G M. II, 377): -'v t' Ta(›xyaaov xsascxepov -oró •x-i x«zsJ•p•iv. [They say that the Tartessos River carries away the inhabitants].

(2) From the columns (see p. 120).

ἡ λεγομένη Ταρτησσὸς, ἐπιφανὴς πόλις,

XOI {oQ$UT0V XOGO E OV £x ç K°ITxj4 (1)

χρυσόν τε καὶ χαλκὸν φέρουσα πλείονα,

ἔπειτα χώρα Κελτικὴ καλουμένη

μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης τῆς κατὰ Σαρδὼ κειμένης.

[... after this (Gades) there is a very lively emporium two days' sail away called Tartessos, a bright city, with a river that carries the wealth of Celtic with much gold and bronze. Then comes the land called Celtic to the sea, which is opposite Gerdeña.]

Here the river comes from the land of the Celts; likewise, the Periplus states that the Cempsos, the Celts, live inland. The name of the Sea of Sardinia (Avienus 150) also agrees with the Periplus. And the fact that Tartessos appears here as a flourishing commercial city is due to the tradition of the 6th century, since in the time of Eloros, Tartessos had already been destroyed for some time.

4. Schol. Lycophr. 643: TopyOOoç ó(vjooç xp‹ɕ xcix "Hp«-xkeiuix OJkuic [Tartessos is an island near the columns of

(1) Some have interpreted this passage as indicating that the estafio came from Brittany and was found in reference to rivers. However, Eforos, since he speaks of Tartessos as still existing, used a text from the 6th century, such as the Periplus, and as the following words demonstrate (júpti íiek-tJ, etc.), the cultic land is the interior of Spain, inhabited by the Celts, the land from which the Batis comes, which is, therefore, the river that brings the tin. The word ZoTH{iópgvxoJ refers to Tartessos; this is clearly evident from Avieno 297 and do Rstúf. Biz., as well as from the analogy with the amber found on the islands of the North Sea, at the mouth of the Elbe, but which, in the opinion of the ancients, was brought by the Elbe, the Eridanus (Dion. Chrysost. *Discourse* 29, p. 434 Reiske ... E•\xi›v, 8zov p•xoi zoxn¡tóv ztv« z«zo‹p°pew tó í¡Rxxpov. [... of the Celts, where it is said that a certain river brings amber}.

I-Jércules], and Tapry *ca'›q* ói v joey xc\' zo/ iG, í,c 'Ap «'›G‹ovioG ••*"}aa!*-Stone [Tartessos is an island and city where Argan-thonios reigned]. The fragment, which clearly comes from ancient sources, is important because it refers to Tartessos as an island. This agrees with the Periplus, according to which Tartessos was on the
island of Cartare, formed by the two arms of the Tartessos River (see zee).

5. ' Escol. Iliad 8, 479 (quoted above, p. 75):
Γίγαντες ἐν Ταρτησσῷ, πόλις δὲ ἐστιν αὕτη παρὰ τῷ 'Ωκεανῷ. [Los giants in Tartessos, this city is next to the Ocean.]

The most detailed account of the final days of Tartessos and its relations with the Phoenicians can be found in Herodotus (see p. 55). Herodotus's accounts come from what he heard from the Phoenicians. Having been to Tartessos, Herodotus knows the Eltas and Einetes, neighbouring peoples of Tartessos, whom the Phoenicians undoubtedly heard speak of these peoples in the city of Guadalquivir. This detail also agrees with the Periplus, which places the Cinetes between the mouths of the Sado and the Anas, that is, north of Tartessos, a n d which refers to the Cempsos a n d Sefes, the Celts, as inhabitants of the western coast and the highlands.

Herodotus also heard about the Cassiterides, the tin islands, which the Tartessians sailed to, and about Eridanus-Elba, at the mouth of which the Oestrymnians collected amber (Herod. 3, 115), but he did not believe these stories.

All this varied and abundant information, which unfortunately has reached us in a fragmentary state, has its origin in the voyages of the Phoenicians. We must pay deep admiration to that small city of Ionia, which discovered and colonised the remote West and was the first to spread knowledge of the northern lands. And also

to Massalia, the daughter of Phoea, from where the scientific discoverers of those remote regions came, the author of the Periplus (Euthymenes?) and Pytheas, the greatest glory of the city of the Rhone.

> The merit of the Phocians is even greater than that of the Milesians.

his brothers, the discoverers of the Pontic lands and the Northeast. The Phocians advanced geographical science in the same proportion as the Carthaginians set it back, returning it to its previous state. Later we shall see (chapter VII) how Pytheas, another Massaliote, dispelled the oceanic mists for a second time and how the stupidity of his successors once again clouded the knowledge of the West. *This double rise and fall of research reflects the fate of* human *culture*, *whose history shows not continuous progress but a* continuous *series of ups and downs, and which today, in this age of racial and class* hatred*, seems to be declining towards* a new *decline.*

CHAPTER VI

Loø caztagtzseaea y' fa deatzsccż6zz ée Tazteaeoe.

The voyages of the Phocians to Tartessos must not have continued long after the battle of Alalia. This battle gave the Carthaginians dominion over the western Mediterranean and opened the way for them to enter Spain (1). According to Diodorus (Eusebius, 1, p. 226, Schoene), Phoenician thalassocracy [dominion of the sea] lasted no more than forty-four years. Apparently, he counts the years between the fall of Tyre (after 600 BC), which gave the Phocians dominion over the western sea, and the Battle of Alalia (537 BC), which took it away from them.

Even more fatal than for the Phocians was the battle of Alalia for the Tartessians. That battle eliminated the Greeks from the western star and opened the way for the Carthaginians to the treasures of Tartessos. The Carthaginians were even worse than the Tyrians. It did not take them long to extend their greedy hands towards the land of silver. According to Timaeus (in Dio

(1) Alalia is also the first act of the world war between the Hellenes and the Barbarians (Persians, Carthaginians, Etruscans). The great battles of this war took place sometimes in the East (Lade, Marathon, Salamina, Mycale, Plataea) and sometimes in the West (Alalia, Himera, Kyme).

doro, 5, 16), occupied Ebusus (Ibiza) in 654 (1). The date seems too remote, but in any case, the fact reveals that the Carthaginians quickly established themselves in Ibiza, which must have been the first place they occupied in Spain. The occupation of the Andalusian coast did not take place until after 530—since the Periplus mentions Tartessos and Mainake as cities that still existed—but before 509, since in the first Roman-Carthaginian treaty, Carthage prohibited navigation to Spain (see p. 86). Furthermore, Iberian mercenaries do not appear in the Carthaginian army until the Battle of Himera in 480 (Herodotus, 7, 165).

A fight to the death soon broke out between Tartessos and Carthage. The Carthaginians arrived in Spain as they had arrived in Sicily, not only as traders but also as conquerors. Just as they later razed the Greek cities of Sicily, so too did they set out from the outset to destroy Tartessos. And there is no doubt that it was they who annihilated Tartessos. There is a text which, to all appearances, can be considered direct evidence of this. A mechanic from the 1st century BC named Athenaios, and also Vitruvius (10, 13, 1), refer to the following facts, which both authors know from the same source (2):

• It is said that the Carthaginians were the first to, in

(1) Meltzor, 1, 155. The Carthaginian necropolises of Ibiza (Vives, *£sti-diez de Arqueolopa cartaginesa,* 1917) and Villarieos in the province of Almería (L. Sir»t, *Villaricos y Hermanas,* Madrid, 1907) are very important for establishing the date of the Carthaginian occupation. In Villarieos, the finds do not go beyond the 5th century, thus providing a ferminus post quem for the occupation of the Andalusian coast. In Ibiza, however, the finds date back to the 6th century.

(2) German translation in Rud. Schneider, Griecfi. *Poíiorhetiker,* iii, 14.

At the site of Gades, they invented the battering ram. Having occupied a castle, before laying siege to the city itself, they wanted to knock down its walls to flatten the place. A few boys, having no useful tools for demolition at hand, took a beam and, pushing it with their arms against the wall, easily knocked down a good part of it. This incident gave rise to an idea in the mind of a certain Tyrian shipwright named Pefrásmenos, who, during the siege of the city itself by the Carthaginians, took a mast and hung a crossbeam from it, suspended like the beam of a balance, and with this crossbeam he struck the wall, pulling the beam backwards with a rope. As the besieged knew of no means of defence against this new machine, they were unable to prevent the walls from collapsing quickly.

In this account, we should read Tartessos instead of Ga-des. The same confusion found in Avienus and other authors (chapter VII) can be verified here. Gades, in fact, like the other Phoenician cities of Africa and Sicily, must have accepted the Carthaginian yoke more or less spontaneously, and in any case its resistance must not have reached the point of sustaining a siege and exposing itself to destruction. The topographical details, on the other hand, do not coincide with Gades but with Tartessos. That castle seems to be the •castle of Gerón •, located at the mouth of the Tartessos River. The Carthaginians had to destroy this outpost of the city (see chapter IX) before laying siege to it, so as not to leave themselves open to the threat of attack from behind.

The *date of Tartessos' destruction* can be determined with reasonable accuracy. Tartessos still existed at the time of the Periplus and Hecateus, that is, around 530. On the other hand, its destruction must have occurred before the Battle of Hiciera (480), since

that this defeat greatly weakened Carthaginian power. Furthermore, Himileón's journey, which took place before 480, implies the submission of Tartessos, as the Tartessians would not have allowed the Carthaginians access to tin. Add to this the fact that Pindar considers the regions beyond the Strait to be inaccessible (see p. 110) (1), and we can conclude that Tartessos must have perished between 530 and 480, probably before 500 BC. Unfortunately, little is known about this first Carthaginian domination in Spain, but Polybius (2, 1, 6) bears witness to it when he says that Amilear reconquered (ivex-Gro) the former possession of Carthage.

At this same time, another large and flourishing commercial city was also destroyed: Sybaris. Like Tartessos, Sybaris had lost its strength of resistance in the enjoyment of wealth and well-being (2). In many ways, Sybaris resembles Tartessos. It possessed an extensive empire—dominating four indigenous tribes and twenty-five cities—and, like Tartessos, it sold the products of the West to the East.

The journey contains important information about the relations between the Carthaginians and the Tartessians and Massaliotes shortly before the destruction of Tartessos. This information consists of references to two trade routes, one from the Bay of Biscay to the Massaliote coast, and the other from JYlainake via Tartessos to the Tagus estuary. We have already set out the deductions that can be made from this information (see p. 85). The aforementioned roads were the resource used by the Phocians to continue buying tin from the Tartessians, after

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(1) See p. 57, note 2, regarding Herodotus, considered to be fer-
minus ante quem.

(2) Sybaris was destroyed around 510 **BC (See** Beloch, **Griecft.** *ce ch.,* 1", 1, 282.)

When Carthage closed the strait, the Phocians built a land route from Mainake to Tartessos; and when the Carthaginians later blocked Tartessos by land as well, the Phocians extended the road to the mouth of the Tagus, where the Tartessians passed through, bringing tin from Oestrymnis. But when the Carthaginians closed this route as well, the Massaliotes built a road through the Pyrenean isthmus, which was outside Carthaginian control. Continuously thwarted in their efforts to prevent communication between the Massaliotes and the market of Tartessos, the Carthaginians did not hesitate to destroy first Mainake and shortly afterwards the city of Tartessos itself, no doubt thinking that it was better to monopolise the silver and tin for themselves than to buy it from the Tartessians.

The destruction of the two enemy cities was complete. The Carthaginians erased even the memory of them, and later Tartessos was confused with Gades and Mainake with Malacca, which shows that the trade of Tartessos moved to Gades and that of Mainake to Malacca. Out of greed and commercial jealousy, the Carthaginians destroyed Tartessos and Mainake. Out of greed and commercial jealousy, Carthage itself later succumbed to Roman power. The ruins of Tartessos and Mainake, like those of Carthage and Corinth, are the most eloquent proof of the fierce hatred with which political and commercial struggles are waged, comparable in this respect only to **the wars** of religion (1).

The fall of Tartessos and Mainake seems to coincide approximately with the submission of the Ionian cities, especially

(1) Ratzel: *Polit. Ceogr.,* 2, 5, 27.

Miletus, under Persian rule, after the Battle of Lade (c. 494 BC). It is possible that there is an internal link between these events, as there was later between the battles of Salamis and Himera (480). It seems that the Carthaginians were allied with the Persians (as in 480; Diod., 11, 20), and that the barbarians sought at the same time to destroy their Greek rivals in the East (Ionians) and in the West (Mainake). After the battle of Lade, the forensician Dionysius waged war on Carthage on his own (Herod., 6, 17), avenging both the destruction of Miletus and that of Mainake. Thus, three great centres disappeared at the same time: Tartessos, Mainake, Miletus. The fall of Miletus inspired Phrynichus to write his tragedy AhIr¡Too *áL‹na‹ç (*The Fall of Miletus). Tartessos and Mainake, on the other hand, perished without anyone mourning them.

The destruction of Tartessos transferred to Carthage the dominion of the vast Tartessian empire, which encompassed all of Andalusia. The southern limit set for Roman and Massaliote navigation in the second treaty with Rome (348 BC) is precisely Mastia (Cartagena), which was more or less the northern limit of the Tartessian empire (see chapter VIII). At first glance, it seems strange that the Carthaginians did not extend their domination further north. However, there is an explanation for this. North of Mastia, they would have had to fight not the weak Turdetani, but the savage tribes of free Iberia. This independence enjoyed by the northern half of the eastern Spanish coast explains why the Phoenician trading post of Herneroskopeion continued to exist, and why four other Massaliote colonies were founded north of Mastia: two between Cape Nao and Cape Palos—Alonis, next to Benidorai (Estéf., see 'Ak«»íx), and an unknown one (Eslabón, 159), which

zá Alicante, which bore a Greek name, Aeoxr¡ úxpe (Diod., 25, 10) (1)—and two others further north, in the Gulf of Rosas: Emporion and Rhodes. The Periplus does not yet mention these four cities, which must therefore have been founded after 530 BC. We know that Emporion and Rhodes were established shortly after that date, as Greek vessels from Emporion date back to the 6th century. We have no data on the other two southern trading posts, which must have been established shortly after 500 BC. We have already discussed (p. 62) the cultural importance of the two emporia in the Gulf of Elche as the starting point for Iberian-Greek sculpture. These cities, located outside the Carthaginian zone, relied on trade with the free Iberians, for whom the Greeks were as welcome as the Carthaginians were hated (2).

As a geographical term, the kingdom of Tartessos is mentioned even later. The second treaty between Rome and Carthage refers to "Mastia tartesia", that is, Mastia in the former empire of Tartessos, and Hannibal's Iberian mercenaries also included the Tartessians (see page 12). The Roman annals still mention the Tartessians (Liv. 23, 26). The fact that Sagunto bordered on the Turdetani refers to the ancient Tartessian frontier, which reached as far as Cape Nao.

After the elimination of the Tartessians, the Carthaginians —led by the people of Cadiz—found the way to Gran

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(1) .ttuxí°t Gxpn, in Latin Lucentum, became al•lekant in Arabic, Alicante. Amilcar made Alicante the stronghold of the Carthaginians, the predecessor of Carthago nova.

(2)]u9tiao, 43, 5, 3: rum *I-disfi›ania omicitiam junxemnt (Maasaliences l.* [The Massaliotes befriended the Hispanics].

Britain and for five hundred years dominated the
(1).

Later, there was a reaction against Carthaginian domination, a union between the Iberians and the Inassaliotas, and a war against Carthage (2). Carthage lost its possessions in southern Spain, but retained control of the Andalusian waters and the Ocean. This occurred between 348, the date of the second Roman-Carthaginian trade treaty, in which Carthage was still the master of the Tartessian region, and 240, the date of the reconquest of Andalusia by Amilcar. It is possible that the loss of the empire in Spain was the consequence of the defeat suffered by the Carthaginians in 340 in Sicily (in the Battle of Krirnissos). In this case, they would have lost Spain around 300 BC. Amilcar recaptured Andalusia, and the Tartessians then lost their freedom again, after having defended themselves in vain, with the help of the Celts (Celtiberians?) from the interior, under the command of Istolacio (Diod. 25, 10). The ancient enmity of the Tartessians towards their neighbours in Sagunto gave Hannibal a pretext to attack Sagunto (3), indirectly.

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(1) Strabo, 175 (see Aviono, 114, an interpolation by Eforos) gives testimony that the Carthaginians came to England.

(2) Justino, 43, S, 2: *Carthaginians also, when war* broke out over new fishing *grounds*, *often defeated the Carthaginians and* made peace with *the Spaniards*. Having started a war over some crowded fishing boats, they defeated the Carthaginian armies many times and made peace with the vanquished and befriended the Hispanics}; Pausanias, 10, 8, 6:)svó}ie'›o: o< 'zcuolv iz*po--ve(•o' ltx'›¿r¡sovíttrz [they defeated the Carthaginians in their ships1; Tueid., 1, 13. 'l'‹u/s » --ü1cssckic'z o1z'(ovzt; Kc(›•/Ç0ovtov; "'zfxiuv •zsou.‹r/,o^u'z ; {Log focenses from Massalia d e f e a t e d the Carthaginians in a naval battle].

(3) Liv., 21, 6, 1. Appian, *Iber.,* 10, names the Turdetani 'l'o' §oÉj---
(Liv., 33, 44, *Turba),* which seems more like a mixture of To(q),sJ-ry)\r t. *and* To(o)ss-ñ¡ ç. The term Teóp§ook« from Ptol. (2, 6, 60) undoubtedly comes from the same source.

It was therefore the Tartessians who caused the Second Punic War. The fall of Sagunto meant the ruin of a hereditary enemy for them, and the Roman victories over the Carthaginians gave them the opportunity to shake off the Carthaginian yoke. In 216, the Tartessians, under Chalbus, revolted and stood firm against Hasdrubal (Liv. 23, 26). However, their new freedom was short-lived and soon succumbed to attacks from Rome. The Roman annals of 214 (Liv. 24, 42) mention the submission of the Turdetani. The vanquished were sold into slavery and the capital of the time—whose name we do not know—was destroyed.

But the Turdetani were not satisfied with their new masters, and being of a fickle nature, they rejoined their former rulers. In the battle of Lli-pa (206), it is said that 50,000 Turdetani fought in the ranks of the Carthaginians. This battle definitively sealed the ruin of Carthaginian domination in Spain. The Tartessians therefore had to submit once again to Rome; a certain King Attenes was the first to be reported to have gone over to the Romans. The old empire of Tartessos then became a Roman district. Its western half, up to the province of Almería, formed the province of Hispania Ulterior in 197 BC, and the eastern half, which was less extensive, was added to Hispania Citerior. The Tartessians did not cease to make efforts to free themselves from Roman domination, but these were even more futile and useless than the previous ones, as the Tartessians were dependent on the help they received from foreign tribes. Thus, for example, in 195 BC, they fought the Romans with only Celtiberian mercenaries (Liv. 34, 19). At this time, the new name *Turdetani* appears for the first time *(*first in 220: Liv. 21, 6), which

It replaced the old name of Tartessos, which, after the destruction of Tartessos, could no longer survive. Livy, in 23, 26, says *Tartessii* but, in general, he says *Turdetani;* (Livy ultimately bases his account on contemporary annals). The first to attest to the name Turdetani are Cato—who in 195 calls Turdetania Turta—(1), Polybius, who writes Toopór¡Tov»í, and Artemidorus, who uses T0Up-uTe'›oi and Toúpzoi (2) (chap. I). This ethnic name, derived from that of the city with the suffix jones, was apparently in use for a long time among the indigenous people, but foreigners rejected it, replacing it with Top-N¡ooioi, derived from the Greek name of the city. There is another form of the ethnic name: Toopó-o5i ot. The same is true of the Bastetani, who are also called Bastulos (Mon. Ling. Iber., 242). There was some debate as to whether the Turduli and the Turdetani were different (as Polybius believed, considering the Turduli to be the northern neighbours of the Turdetani) or whether they were one and the same (Strabo, 139). The suffix -ufiis is also Iberian-African (3). Perhaps the name torboletes, in Appian, corresponds to a third form of the same name, which would be turdetes (see p. 102, note 3).

Since the destruction of Tartessos, Carthage considered itself the absolute ruler of the western Mediterranean and the ocean. *strait was closed o to all foreign ships.* To the

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(1) *Orat. rell., í,* 18 19,]ordán: ifnque *porro* in *Turtam* proJciscor *ser-*U0fum iffos [eorro, then, to Turta to save you].

(2) The same hesitation between the middle and the tenuous that we find in turtetanos and turdetanos, we also find in the Iberian; Pilplis and the Latin Bilbilis, in the Iberian Dunasu and the Latin Turiaso.

(3) Africans: Getulos, Mfissylos, Masséssylos, Musulamos (also found as Musones: Ammiano, 29, 5, 27), Máxula, Sufetula, Muthul. Iberians: Agula, Búrgula, Calúeula, Ilipula, Lacilbula *(Numanlia, 1,* 37).

The Etruscans themselves, their allies, prohibited the Carthaginians from sailing the ocean and occupying the newly discovered island of Madeira (Diod., 5, 20, *De mir. ausc.,* 80). In the first treaty with Rome in 509 BC, Carthage prohibited the Romans and their allies, mainly the Massaliotes (1), from sailing westward.

The • Pillars of Hercules •, which were once the proud symbol of the conquest of the Ocean and the • Plus Ultra (Diodorus, 4, 18, 5, Meía, 1, 5, Pliny, 3, 4; Seneca, *Herc., fur.* 237), now take on the resigned meaning of the non plus ultra for navigation. Pindar, a contemporary of these events, sings thus (Olymp., 3, 44): • The world beyond the pillars is inaccessible, to the wise as to the foolish• (2). "The road to Tartessos" (Avieno, 54, see above p. 64) became "the road to Gades" (3). Himilcon, who made a journey to the north, to the land of the estano, shortly after the year 500, Tartessos already destroyed, recounted in his account all sorts of terrible dangers, typical of unknown seas, such as calms, fogs, shoals, whirlpools, and sea monsters (Avienus, 117, 380, 406) in order to frighten foreign sailors. And he succeeded wonderfully, for the Greeks faithfully reproduced these terrifying images (4). And when these gentle means of persuasion did not produce the desired result and some ships insisted on continuing their course towards the West, then the Carthaginians resorted to violent measures, throwing

(1) Justino, 43, 3, 4; 5, 3; Jullian. *History* of *Maule,* I, 200.

(2) Further references to Pindar can be found in chapter VII.

(3) First mentioned in Pindar: *zULrxi* l'«0zipfO-; [the gates of Gades].

(4) Pindar, *Nem,* 3, 23; E uktemón (Avienus, 362-365); Eseilax, 1, 112; Plato, *Timaeus,* 25, d; Plato, Crifins, 108, •; Aristotle, 3fetn/isícn, 2, 1, 14: Theophrasto, *Hrst. plant.›* 4, 6, 4; *De mirab. ausc•›* 136. For my most recent texts, see Berger, *Erdkunda*,* p. 232.

The bold attempt came to nothing (Strabo, 802, *De mir.* nusc., 84, Diod., 5, 20).

The second Roman-Carthaginian trade treaty of 348 marks the height of Carthaginian power. While the first treaty of 509, made when Carthage was beginning to establish its dominance in the western Mediterranean, prohibited only navigation along the African coast (west of Cape Farina), leaving the waters off the Italian coast free—at least in form—the second treaty, on the other hand, also established a non plus ultra on the Spanish coast. This impassable point was Mastia de Tarsis. This completely closed off the ocean and southern Spain to all foreign navigation (1). Plato thus testifies that at this time the strait was impassable (Timaeus, 24, e). If, then, Pytheas shortly afterwards managed to sail the Ocean, it must have been, without doubt, with the permission of the Carthaginians, or perhaps even in a Carthaginian ship. The Carthaginians perhaps hoped that Pytheas' voyage would result in the discovery of new trading centres.

The blockade of the strait explains the total ignorance of Greek authors of the 5th-6th centuries about the regions beyond. Everything these writers say comes from ancient sources, texts from the 6th century (see chapter VII). Even as late as 230 BC, any foreign ship that ventured into Sardinian waters, heading for the strait, was inevitably sunk, as Erastothenes (Strabo, 802) testifies. And the Carthaginians managed to maintain their monopoly on ocean navigation, even after the First Punic War, which broke the

(1) In conjunction with this, trade with Libya and Perdería is prohibited, which was still permitted under certain conditions in the first treaty.

Carthage's maritime power in the Mediterranean. Moreover, even after Spain was conquered by the Romans, the cunning Semites managed to keep the route to the land of tin hidden from the rulers of the world. A Carthaginian captain, finding himself pursued by a Roman ship, ran his ship aground, and the state compensated him for the loss of the ship and its cargo (Strabo, 176). P. Crasso, who governed the province around 95 BC (1), managed to discover the tin islands off the north-west coast of Spain, the • Casi-térides (2); but until Rome conquered Great Britain, the monopoly that the people of Cadiz exercised over the tin trade remained intact, a monopoly that lasted for some five hundred years.

With the columns blocked, the sea routes closed, Tartessos and Mainake destroyed, and, consequently, the land routes to silver and tin also intercepted, the Massaliotes nevertheless managed to open up new outlets that allowed them to continue trading in tin. At this time, they must have opened up two routes: one following the banks of the Rhône and the Seine to Normandy, and the other leading along the Loire to Korbilo (Strabo, 189, 193; Diodorus, 5, 22; Strabo, 190). However, the journey by land took thirty days (3), while the crossing to Tartessos took only

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(1) The P. Crasso mentioned by Posidonius (from whom Strabo takes his account of the Spanish Casitirides) is not Caesar's legate (as Berger believes, *Erdkund *,* 356; Kroll. R *E* art. *Schiffahrt,* p. 418), but rather the former governor of Hispania; indeed, Posidonius' work predates 80 BC, that is, it predates the Aquitanian War led by Crassus the Younger (in 56 BC).

(2) Strabo, 176; Wilsdorf, *Fasli Hiei.,* 111.

(3) Diodorus, 5, 23, thirty days; Strabo, 193: c. 5,000 stadia (,924, kilómetros : 30 = ,30 days).

about ten; moreover, the overland route was much more difficult and costly than the sea voyage. We therefore assume that these overland routes were not used until after the maritime blockade and the destruction of Tartessos and
Mainake.

The Massaliotes knew how to conceal their land trade from the Romans, just as the Carthaginians concealed their sea trade from them. In 134, Scipio wanted to obtain information about Britain in Massalia and Narbonne. He achieved nothing (Strabo, 190). The same thing happened to Caesar when he questioned the inhabitants of the western coasts of Gaul, who sailed to England (Caesar, *De bello gall., 4*, 20). The precious secret of the route to the tin islands was well kept!

CAPITULO VII

Lo qoe aopterozs e tgaoraroq de Tartecco• faa posteztorec geqeraciozsec•

Tartessos had been in ruins since 500 BC. The road of columns was blocked to Greek ships. News of Tartessos became increasingly obscure. Added to all this was the fact that the fame and splendour of Gades, having grown steadily since the fall of its rival, contributed greatly to burying the name of Tartessos in oblivion (1).

The author of the journey is the last eyewitness of Tartessos. He describes the city when it still existed, saying that the river brings tin to its walls (Avienus, 297) and bypasses the city at midday (290). But above all, he points to Tartessos as the starting point of the return journey, with Massalia being the point

(1) In addition to Gades, there is another city that can be considered the heir to Tartessos, and with even more justification than the former, from a topographical and cultural point of view: Hispalis-Seville, which, like Tartessos, is located on the estuary of the Betis, although somewhat further upstream, and, also like Tartessos, is the capital of the region and a port on the Atlantic. The old Mannert (*Geogr• der Griechan und Romar*, I,* 294) confused Tartessos with Hispalis, an error much less absurd than the general confusion with Gades (which Mannert rejects).

arrival. The verses describing Tartessos as a pile of ruins:

... multa et opulens civitas
‹eso vetusto, nunc egena, nene *brevis,*
nene *destitula nunc ruinarum agger est* (1),

belong to the interpolator, as do the other descriptions of ancient cities now in ruins, once flourishing in the days of the Periplus (see p. 81). The unknown author on whom Stephanus (TupTr¡oaóç) bases his description of Tartessos (see p. 88) is undoubtedly close to the Periplus, and his information reveals personal knowledge of the locality. On the other hand, Hecataeus seems to be unfamiliar with the regions beyond the strait, since he denies the existence of Erytheia (tr. 349) and none of his fragments refer to cities beyond the strait, which can hardly be attributed to mere chance (2).

Pindar is the first to clearly reveal the change that has taken place in the state of affairs. With remarkable insistence, he repeatedly states that the columns mark the limit of navigation (*Olymp. 3*, 44; *Nem. 3*, 21, 4, 69, fstfim. 3 , 31); it could be said that he is still under the recent impression of the fatal event for Hellenic sailors. Pindar is the first to refer to the terrifying fables invented by the Carthaginians: sea monsters, shoals, etc. (3). He is also very sig-

(1) Hübner, with notable levity, refers the verses to Gades (R E. VII, 461). As if this city were a pile of ruins in Avienus's time! (21 On It«ks8p, see my edition of Avienus, fig. 133. There are also no fragments of Hecateus that refer to the Libyan coast of the Ocean beyond the Aeolian Islands (see R E. VII, 2.727 et seq.).

(3) *Num.* 3, 23: Oópo i u 8jp«; iv wl‹i-tst Ur<p02oo; ñ«i —' ipsUvsm -._ve¡*‹ov (o*í [and he dominated prodigious monsters in the sea and probed the currents of the deep]. If the date of this ode could be established—which is unfortunately impossible (see Bóckh in his edition 2, 2, 363)—we would have a *term* for the destruction of Tartessos.

It is significant that Pindar (fr. 256) gives the strait the name Gades, while Avienus, following the Periplus (v. 54), refers to it as Tartessos (v. p. 64). The confusion of *Aeschylus (*Plin. 37, 32), who mistook the Eridanus-Elbe for the Rhone, can also be explained by the lack of knowledge of the northern ocean that followed the Carthaginian blockade. For *Herodotus*, too, the world beyond the pillars is *terra* incognita. Herodotus (4, 45) denies the northern ocean, the islands of the lake and the river Eridanus, which flows into the North Sea and from which amber came (3, 115), and he denies all this because, despite his questions, no one had been able to give him any news of those countries and seas, which indirectly demonstrates the interruption of the Ionian voyages to Tartessos. **If, then,** Herodotus (4, 152) seems to speak of Tartessos as a city that still exists, he has read or heard something about Tartessos, as when he speaks of the Celts and Cinetes, peoples of the far west. According to Herodotus (4, 8), Erytheia was zpic Fehtipoi¢ [next to Gades]. This location can also apply to Tartessos and does not allow us to conclude that Herodotus had already moved Erytheia to Gades, but it can also be interpreted in this sense. Herodotus (4, 192) and *Aristophanes (Ranas,* 475) speak of the ¡iùpciv« Topw¡Oot'« or moray eel of Tar-

Tessos, this is perhaps another very ancient example of the confusion between Tartessos and Gades, since when Aristophanes and Herodotus wrote this, Tartessos had already been destroyed for more than fifty years and could therefore only refer to the moray eels of Gades, whose fish enjoyed worldwide fame. *Ferecydes (*fr. 33) takes Hercules to Tartessos, thus placing Erytheia in this region and not in Gades. But Strabo, who attributes this opinion to him (p. 169), says coixs [it seems], which shows that Ferecydes must have expressed himself with

the same imprecision as Herodotus. As for what *Herodorus* (fr. 20) refers to about the tribes beyond the strait, his agreement with the Periplus and with Hecataeus shows that he took it from a 6th-century source.

The journey of the Athenian Euktemón is extremely curious and remarkable. This journey reaches the strait and was composed before the expedition to Sicily. The work must have been written in view of the Athenians' plans for the western regions (1). But these hopes were dashed by the failure of the expedition to Sicily. Euktemón attests to the complete blockade of the strait at that time. From his account, preserved in Avienus 366-380 (2), we know that foreign ships could not pass the island of the moon, opposite Mainake (367, see also 421). Travellers wishing to visit the two islands dedicated to Hera and Hercules in the Strait of Gibraltar (Isla Paloma and 1. Peregil) had to unload their ships at Mainake or transfer to a Carthaginian vessel and return after a brief stay on the islands (350-380) (3).

Thus, as early as the 5th century, the Greeks knew of Tartessos only by hearsay or from old texts.

The 5th-century Hebrew *texts* (Gen. 10:4, Isaiah 66:19, Jeremiah 10:9, see chap. I) do not allow us to conclude that Tartessos still existed at that time. At that time, the Jews had no relations with the West; therefore, these texts cannot be derived from direct knowledge.

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(1) Müllenhof. D. A. 1, 210, Rehm R E. VI, 1060.

(2) See Eforos, in Escymn. 143, which reproduces the same information about the two islands and their distance. The concordance is due to the fact that the voyage was transmitted through Eforos, who introduced interpolations taken from Euktomón, Himileón, etc.

(3) See my edition of Avienus, p. 102.

Tartessos is nothing more than a traditional, fixed term for the Jews, generally designating the remote West. The text of Jonah 1:3, where Tartessos appears as the real destination of a journey, is also not applicable in this case, as the legend of Jonah seems to have existed since the 7th century and even since the 6th century.

From now on, everything beyond the columns is *terra incognita.* As for Pindar and Herodotus, so too for Euripides *(H∗ 'PP-* 74b,• 1053; *Herc.* 234) and Isocrates *(Panath.* 285, c), the strait is the n•* *p'!us ultra.* The errors made by 5th-century authors regarding the width of the strait are very characteristic (1).

Over time, knowledge of the lost city gradually faded. But the imagination of the Greeks, one of their most powerful forces, continued to work around the marvellous city, lost in the remote West. The profound impression that the Phocian accounts of Tartessos left on the Greek mind is evident in Herodotus and in all the mythical literature based on those voyages (see chapter V).

0 Everything deceives *us*, or *the beautiful Platonic fiction of the island of Atlantis (Krilias* 113-121, *Timaeus,* 24 e-25 *d)* contains *an obscure reference to Tartessos.* This is possible, in fact, because the memory of the fabulous land of the remote West must still have been alive in Plato's time, only 150 years later. Furthermore, a poetic fiction may have its roots in reality. Let us not forget that Homer's Troy

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(l) According to Euktemón (Avieno 355; Eseymn. 144) it is 30 stadia. According to Dam•stes and Escilaz do Karyanda it is about seven stadia (Avieno 355-374). In reality it is about 80 stadia.

has turned out to be real, despite all the ridicule with which philologists pelted Schliemann. In fact, the coincidences between Tartessos and the island of Atlantis are too remarkable to be coincidental.

Atlantis is located on an *island in the Atlantic Ocean.*

Tartessos, before reaching the Pillars *of Hercules and in the vicinity of Gades (Tim.* 24 *e,• K rit.* 114 ó). Tartessos, however, was also outside the Pillars and close to Gades, built on the island formed by the two arms of its river. The wealth of the Atlanteans consisted primarily (zpt›Tov; 114 e) of the treasures of metaĺ, which they extracted from the mountains of the country (114 e ; 116 *b-d).* This very specific detail is certainly not invented. However, it applies t o Tartessos like no other city. Among the metals, eĺ tçii;tWzov (*Krit.* 116 ó, *d•* 114 e, 119 c) stood out. It was found in many places on the island a n d was as precious as gold, but today, says Plato, it is known only by name (114 e). This orichalcum cannot be copper, which was very common in Plato's time, but rather a copper-based mixture that was highly valued in the past a n d later forgotten (1), not the alloy with zinc, yellow copper o r brass, which later received the name orichalcum, a n d which was still unknown in Plato's time (2), but rather a type of bronze, once common and later disappeared, such as aes *Corinthium [*Corinthian bronze]. Such was Tartessian bronze, which enjoyed universal fame. The Phocians exported it, as evidenced by the

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(1) Aristotle himself, who possessed such extensive knowledge of natural history, did not know what orichalcum was (Eseol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 973. 'A *v TeRtoii ‹cps: p.hbi Uzóp•¿eiv x0 0'›o¡ie ¡ip3 "0 xoUioo sioo;. [Aristotle, in Mysteries, says that he does not know what it means or what it is.]).

(21 Bliimner, *Technologi•, 4,* 196.

treasure of the Sikyones in Olympia, adorned with Tartessian bronze and built around 650 (1). Plato's assertion that orichalcum was second only to gold in value *(Krit.* 114 e) applies perfectly to Tartessos, where silver was worthless (see pp. 17 and 18).

This same account of orichalcum is also found in Pliny *(n. h. 3A* 2), who discusses *aurichalcum* when talking about copper, thus considering it a natural metal, just as Plato did. And, like Plato, he also says: *quod pr‹e-cipuam bonitatem et admirationem diu obtinuit nec reperi-tur longo jam tempore effeta tellure [* that it once had singular goodness and admiration, but has not been found for a long time, because the earth is exhausted]. The variation on the depletion of the mines shows that Pliny's information does not come from Plato, but from an ancient source, perhaps forensic tradition. The reference to orichalcum in Ps. Hesiod (*(cutum,* 122) in Stesichorus and in Bacchylides (Schol. Apoll. Rhod., 4, 973) also probably comes from this tradition.

The Phocians gave the name opei/okxo to the bronze of Tartessos.

In addition to orichalcum, Plato mentions copper and tin adorning the city walls (116 ód), as well as gold and silver adorning the walls of the temple of Poseidon (116, *d).* It is worth noting here the mention of tin, which alludes to the West, to Tartessos. Tin, like bronze, was one of the most important commodities in the Tartessian emporium. It was exported by the Phocians, as it had previously been exported by the Tyrians, as demonstrated by the Greek fable of the river Tartessos that carries this thread (see p. 92).

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(1) Pausanias 6• 19, 2: T«llo«s ¿«kx0s [Tartessian bronze], see p. 58.

And the strange account (119 *d)* that Poseidon's bulls were to be hunted not with iron, but only with nets, brings to mind the hunting of bulls with nets, as we see it on Myenian vases?

The Atlanteans were descended from Poseidon ¢Aríf., 113 e;116 ed. Similarly, the series of Tartessian kings begins with *Sol, Oceani filius* (see p. 51). The Atlanteans ruled as far as Tyrrhenia and Egypt (*Tim.,* 25 6; *Krit.,* 114 ed. The Tartessians could also boast of such dominion, if interpreted in the sense of commercial hegemony (see chap. V !l(). Among the Atlanteans, the oldest is always the king (mil., 114 d*)*. This detail is reminiscent of the long-lived King Arganthonios, and fits well with the respect that the Tartessians paid to old age (chapter VIII).

The description *of the country* also matches (118 n-ed. The city of the Atlanteans stands on a wide, elongated plain, open to the south and surrounded by high mountains on the other sides, which descend steeply to the sea and protect the plain to the north. This description matches Tartessos. The wide plain surrounded by mountains corresponds to the Betis valley, as does the southward orientation. The Periplus also states that the Betis flows southward in its final stretch (Avienus, 290). The mountains that protect the plain from the north wind correspond to the Sierra Morena, and those that drop steeply into the sea correspond to the high mountain ranges of the southern coast (Sierra Nevada and Montes de Málaga), which the Periplus mentions (Avienus, 425, 434). It is also noteworthy that the city of the Atlanteans is not, as might be expected, on the seashore, but next to a wide channel or inlet navigable by large ships, on an island surrounded by flowing waters (115 d ;

118 c, *d)* (1). These details also coincide with the topography of Tartessos, which was located upstream from the mouth of the river, on an island formed by the two main branches of the Betis (see chapter IX). The numerous canals mentioned by Plato (115 d*;* 118 d*)* are also a characteristic feature found in the Betis, whose intricate network of canals is praised by Strabo (143), and which was undoubtedly built by Tartessos. The Atlanteans used the canal or arm of the sea (iivázkooç) that connects the city to the sea as a port. The Tartessians made the same use of the arm of the sea where the Betis flows into the sea, an estuary that Strabo (140) also calls ‹i›ñzkooc (2). The lively picture painted by Plato (117 ed) of the noisy and industrious bustle, the warehouses and depots, the ships anchored along the shore, the noise made by the sailors day and night (3), vividly recalls modern cities such as Bordeaux or Antwerp, located on the

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(1) 118 *d:* τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καταβαίνοντα ὑποδεχομένη ῥεύματα καὶ περὶ τὸ πεδίον κυκλωθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἀφικομένη τούτῃ πρὸς θάλατταν p t8ai-o °r(ci' [receives the rivers that descend from the mountains, and having formed a circle on the plain, approaches the city on both sides and then flows freely towards the sea}.

(2) For example, 140: Ks(ovx‹n o' ‹its/punt; if -1.r, ›oúp.svot -{ *Sat.uzzl* xr›tkdot t'› *s'; Wkr,}i}it›píot xci zoxs}iifiv 0tzr*z óvC¢i.oti; et; xf v p.sso}C'«v */ovs«:;

. o -cu Psí-io; irvózkooç; ... or -iii'› óvejú serv kitty ud.kJ›' *v kuj ... r ”Ave,

.•. I heard G}£rsJ ... /R$ 0 E HuT‹iiv *v*ñÉ0HJ. [Estuaries are areas that the sea fills with the rising tide and , like rivers, are navigable in the middle of the countryside... the navigable arm of the Betis... the arms of the other estuaries... the Arias... with two branches... with two navigable arms].

(3) ?0'O?•u OT', (Av *av9flXE'XO* }i'V o(Ú ñ0KkJ)V ür2' fioÜtilV Otüf,Üttl'J, Ó bÍ *vÓ-É0oJ καὶ ὁ μέγιστος λιμὴν ἔγεμε πλοίων καὶ ἐμπόρων ἀφικνουμένων πάντοθεν, φωνήν καὶ ópo§o' rcvto0«zov xzúzov x- yG' r¡ pum xa: h:‹y. voxitG u*o zi.í¡flou; zopsyop.-vio' . (The entire area was occupied by many crowded rooms, and the inlet and main harbour were filled with ships and merchants from all over, who made a great commotion with their voices and the clamour of such a large crowd day and night).

estuary of the great rivers. This picture fits perfectly to Tartessos.

Other less characteristic details are also applicable to Tartessos: the thalassocracy of the Atlanteans, the Guar-neeida city with strong walls and towers (116 nd; the ports and arsenals (115 c; 117 *d),* the temple in the sea—perhaps this is the */nni prominens* [the promontory of the temple] mentioned in the Periplus (Avienus, 261, 304)—; world trade (114 d*;* 117 ed; the country's wealth in natural products of all kinds, plants and animals (115; 118 dd, mainly bulls (119 d*),* which brings to mind the bulls of Geryoneus and recalls Strabo's description (142 ff.) of Turdetania; the series of ancient kings descended from the gods (*Tim.* 25, *Kris.,* 114; see pp. 51 and 52); the very old laws written on bronze pillars, which recall Strabo's reference to the laws of Tartessos dating back 6,000 years, the perfectly organised state. Finally, what we read in Plato (*Tim.,* 25 d*, Krit.,* 108 ed. about the shoals produced by the sinking of Atlantis also agrees with what the Carthaginians reported about the shoals in the Ocean, beyond the pillars (p. 105), to dissuade foreigners from travelling these seas. Could the fable of Atlantis, suddenly submerged at the bottom of the sea, be the poetic way in which the Greeks explained the sudden disappearance of Tartessos and the interruption of all news of it?

So many and such coincidences in details that apply to Tartessos as to no other country support the **opinion that Plato, in composing his description of** Atlantis, was thinking mainly of Tartessos. No one would claim that *all* the features of Atlantis correspond point by point with Tartessos; nor do all the characteristics of the

Homer's Troy coincides exactly with historical Troy. The poet is free to take the colours for his paintings from wherever he wants; the poet mixes the fictional with the true, and in tracing the image of a great historical reality, he intersperses inventions from his imagination and even features from other real objects. It is very possible that Plato took the detail of the canals from Egypt (1). The walls of the royal castle, painted white, black and red (116 nJ), undoubtedly come from Herodotus' description of the castle of Eebatana (1, 98), and the 1,200 ships come from the second canto of the Iliad (see Thucyd.,
1, 10, 5).

It could well be that Plato's island of Atlantis was like the "island of the blessed" of Lambulos, located in the remote East (Diod., 2, 55-60), which, despite all the decorative fantasies, undoubtedly refers to the island of Socotra in Arabia (RE., v. Saba, p. 1,402). It could be objected that if Plato was indeed referring to Tartessos, he would have highlighted silver rather than bronze as the most important metal, because silver is the metal most often mentioned by Herodotus in his accounts of the Phocians. But in Plato's time, silver was commonplace, while Tartessian bronze was a fabulous product that had disappeared, as Corinthian bronze later disappeared; and what interests the poet most is precisely the marvellous (2).

It is inconceivable that, having located Atlantis in

(1) Wilamowitz: *Plato,* i, 588.

(2) For the equation Atlantis Tartessos, it is decisive that the two fountains of the temple of Poseidon in Atlantis *(Kritias,* 117, *a)* are clearly the two fountains of the temple of Hercules in Cadiz (Strabo 172 ff.). Hence the equation Atlantis = Tartessos = Gades, etc., and since in Plato's time everyone was looking for Tartessos in Gades, the equation Atlantis = Tartessos. (Communication from Netolitzki in Czernowitz).

everywhere, even in Spitzberg and America (1), no one has thought to look for it in Tartessos. Indeed, those who believe in the reality of the myth should not look for Atlantis in unknown regions. The error, however, can be explained by the literary atheism of Tartessos, which led modern scholars to spiritually destroy the city, just as the Carthaginians once destroyed it materially (see below).

The way in which *Theopompus* (tr. 76) has transmitted the legend of Atlantis to us also recalls Tartessos in some details: the longevity of the Atlanteans, their riches in gold and silver, and mainly their voyages to the North, to the Hyperborean peoples—who does not relate this to the voyages of the Tartessians to the land of the Oestrymnians7— (2). In another book, Theopompus mentions the sovereignty of the Tartessians over the Mastyns (tr. 224, *Muaoia* 2‹iip« uzoz•i¡ie›5—cód. *-«xtipí›p—lois Tap *aatotz (*the land of Massia subject to the Tartessians]), but it is undoubtedly based on an ancient text—perhaps Hecateus, whom he often quotes—since at that time Tartessos and the Mantines were both under Carthaginian rule.

EJoros refers to Tartessos as follows: 1. Tar-tessos was two days' sail from the Pillars (Escimn., 162) (3). 2. Tartessos received from Celtic the es-

See H. Martini Éfiides #ur le *Timée de Platon* (1841), i, 2f9.

(2) Diodorus gives a third version of the legend (Diod., 3, 56). It also contains features that fit Tartessos very well: Uranus having gathered his people in a city; the extensive domination of the Atlanteans, especially in the north and west; the worship of the sun, moon and stars; hospitality (see chapter VIII).

(3) The distance is not from Gades, Syrian of the columns; Eseimn. counts one day from the columns to Gades (151 and likewise Eseilaz, li Pli-nio, 4, 119: 75 thousand == 600 stadia. See Estr•bón, 140: 750-800 stadia), not pu-

size, which are carried by the waters of the Tartessos River (Escimn., 165). 3.° The Tartessians say that the Ethiopians once lived in Erytheia (1). 4. The strange reference in Josephus, c. Apion, 1, 12: 'EpopoG ..... óliv oltzot ¡ríos cív‹xi zouç 'I§§p‹xç. [Ephorus... believes that the Iberians constitute a single city] can perhaps be explained by the fact that Eforos designated the whole of southern Spain as the empire of the city of Tartessos (2). 5. Fragment 103 of Nicol. Damasc. (xop«ó. i8íóv *aula* un [collection of customs]) also comes from Eíoros, which says:

zop‹i T‹ipy *aaiotç* ve«ir°po› *zq* za§oiepoo xaru¡iopropc'.v oux *z cara* [among the Tartessians, it is not lawful for the younger to testify against the older] (3). 6. We know from Pliny, 4, 120, and Escimn., 159, that Eforos sought Erytheia not towards Tartessos, but towards Gades. Among the zokaioí [ancients] that Strabo (148) cites in support of this identification, we must therefore assume that Eforos was also included (4). 7. From these xokoioi [ancients], including Eforos, Strabo learned that between the two mouths of the

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hearing, therefore, two days from Gades to Tartessos. Furthermore, the eo-lumnas are about 900 stadia from Tartessos, that is, two days' journey, while from Gades to Tartessos there are only 300 stadia, that is, half a day (see chap. IX).

(11 Escímn., 157; Strabo, 33: kE¡-0ií« «p Jr, :v (”E ¿• :) 4r•‹i› Tcpwsy'or› At6íozy; rjv At§Jpv "z_kG0vxoq p.c/pi ó3 tu; xu3¡ ¡Lv GozoU ¡it ivo:, ÑQJç 0} xQ} Ç ñt e'QJ (asi DOpp, the eódiCe says WHÇOkts.Ç) XHT7 S (V ü0Ískk,V• [Eforos says that according to the Tartessians, when the Ethiopians had travelled through Libya to the west, some remained there, b u t others occupied part of the land on the other side (as Dopp; the Gódice says: part of the sea coast)].

(2) This is what Forderer thinks: *Ephoroc und Strabon,* diss. Tübingen, 1913, 13.

(3) About Eforoe as a source: Riemano, *P/zi/o/ogus,* t895, 654 I.

(4) E»trabón, in 444: uzú x‹r›v zak«it.›v ñlúxp', ‹iivou.'zs8p |Macris is quoted by the ancients] refers to Eforos (see Escimn., 568 and Pliny, 4, 64i *MacT'ic... ut DionyHiuc Tt* ÜpÜOfttS *tradunt* $MaDFÍ9... eOfftO fiGfieFefl DÍ0I1ÍSÍO and Eforos)).

Betis was the city of Tartessos, and the river was called •Tartessos• and the region •Tartessis".

This information can only come from the 6th century (1), since in the time of Eforos the strait was closed by the Carthaginians, who at that time prohibited navigation beyond Mastia, in the second treaty with Rome (348 BC). On the other hand, the information on Tartessian history, reproduced under number 3, must come from the time when the Phocians went to Tartessos. The same can be said of the information transmitted by Nicolás Dam., reproduced under number 5. Furthermore, if the information provided by Eforos about Iberia did not come from the 6th century, how can we explain its remarkable coincidence with the voyage in the following points: 1. The legend of the tin carried by the Tartessos River (Escimn., 165, Avieno, 296). 2. The three peoples who inhabit the southern and eastern coasts of Spain, the Libyopheneii, Tartessians, and Iberians (Escimn., 197 et seq., Avienus, 421, 463, 472). 3. The Berybrakes, who only reappear in the Periplus (Escimn., 201; Avieno, 485).

4.° The mention of Mainake and Tartessos as still existing (Escimn., 147, 164, Avieno, 269, 431). 5. The mention of the island of Mainake (Escimn., 146, Avieno, 428). 6. The mention of the Celts as inhabitants of the interior (Escimn., 165, 167; Avienus, 195, 257, 301). 7. The northern column in Brittany, the end of the Tartessian voyages to Oestrymnis (*a fiír¡* ¡4óps'•›: [column

(1) For the rest, Ephorus makes extensive use of the ancient Ionian geography (and phonetics) of the 6th-5th centuries (Berger: frd£. *der Griethen* • 108, 237; Bauer: *Benutsung Herodoto durch Ephoros;* Fleckeisen Jahrb. Suppl. X; Forderer: *Epíionoz* und *.Sfrnóori,* pfig. 52, et seq., on Hecataeus, Herodotus, Antiochus and the Tales of Ephorus). My commentary on Avienus (p. 33) contains information on Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Herodotus, Pytheas, Eselax of Karyanda, Damastes, Euktemón, Kl»ón, Hannón, Himilcón.

septentrional] Escimn., 189; Avieno, 88) and others7 (1). If, then, Escimnos calls Tartessos i-ip«vjc zs\ts [illustrious city], it should not be inferred from this that this city still existed in the time of Eforos, but rather that it existed in the time of the source.

used by Eforos (6th century). The source used by Eforos is, in part, the Periplus itself, from which he takes the beginning of his periegesis, the itinerary from Britain to Massalia, adding information from more recent authors (Himilcon, Euktemón, Esilax, Damastes, Phileas). Ephorus's reworking of the Periplus is preserved in two metrical adaptations from the 1st century BC: one of them complete in the Greek schoolbook translated by Avienus (see p. 80), and the other greatly abridged in Esymnos.

There is some evidence that clearly demonstrates the ignorance of geographers in the 4th century BC regarding the distant West. Thus, *Hesiod's* description of Spain only begins to be accurate from Emporion onwards, that is, north of the limit imposed on foreign navigation by the Carthaginians in 348 BC. *Aristotle* believed that the once famous Tartessos River descended from the Pyrenees (2) and considered the western ocean unnavigable due to its calms and shallows (*Meteor., 2*, 1, 14)—the well-known terrifying images exaggerated by the Carthaginians! But in the darkness that had enveloped the seas beyond the Pillars for 150 years, a light suddenly shone with the daring voyage that the most adventurous researcher, Phyfens, undertook to the north in 340 BC.

It is said that Pytheas had been encouraged by the old voyage to

(1) See my edition of Avienus, p. 33.

(2J *Meteor.,* 1, 13: tz 6i ‹je Ílopj $; ... Once :v O ii ”Iván; lar ó T«t.‹r, í;, oúxs; }ie'› ovv m Qi.t'›v [from the Pyrenees ... descend the Istros and the Tartessos, this mfis beyond the eolumnas].

He undertook his courageous expedition, eager to see and investigate for himself the northern regions, about which his predecessor had only obtained obscure information from the Tartessians. Indeed, Pytheas visited the regions mentioned in the Periplus: Oestryninis, Great Britain, and the coasts of the North Sea (1). It would be very gratifying for us to know if he spoke of Tartessos and what he said about it. Eratosthenes, who used Pytheas, gave the name

•Tartessis• to the region beyond the strait, and also mentioned Erytheia (Strabo 148). Thus, it seems that Pytheas, although generally concerned exclusively with current events, spoke of the lost city, to which he had somewhat personal ties as a Massaliote.

But soon the thick fog that Pytheas had briefly pierced descended once again over the oceanic region. The pettiness of later geographers mocked his discoveries and, considering them to be false, contributed to spreading the cloak of oblivion over them. Around 270, *Timaeus (De mirab. ausc.* 84) attests that the Carthaginians had closed the strait, and in 230 BC, *Eratosthenes* states that as a result of the Carthaginian blockade it is impossible to know anything about the West, and advises mistrust of any news from this part (Strabo, 802).

For the third time, the region beyond the co-

lumnas, thanks to the Roman conquest (218 BC onwards). In *Polybius* we find the geographical consequences of this event. In book xxxiv, which contains the description of Iberia, Polybius also talks about Turdetania and Lusitania. Having personally visited these places, he would have had an excellent opportunity to ask about Tartessos and find out more about it;

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(1) See my edition of Avienus, p. 22.

However, his interest was limited to the present and he hardly ever mentioned Tartessos, especially if Pytheas had spoken of this city, because Polybius completely disregarded Pytheas' statements. He no longer refers to the inhabitants of the country as Tartessians, but calls them by the Iberian name of
"Turdetani" and "Turduli" (34, 9, 1). However, in Carthaginian sources he found the old names of *Tapaí¡ ofi and* BeOa'.Mat (see p. 12).

Artemidorus, who visited Turdetania around 100 BC (Strabo 137), disagreed with Eratosthenes about Tartessos, and seems to have denied the existence of this city (1), perhaps based on the same reasons as Polybius—to whom he is otherwise linked by a certain intellectual affinity—namely, that Pytheas had spoken of Tartessos. In Artemidorus, we find the names Toupzot and TovpToxovoi applied to the inhabitants of the country (see p. 104).

Posidonius, who resided in Gades for a month and dealt extensively with its topography, seems to have devoted special interest to Gades' predecessor, Tartessos, as can be seen from Strabo, who owes his beautiful description of Turdetania (3, 2) to Posidonius. Posidonius gave credence to the claims of Pytheas, even, no doubt, with regard to Tartessos. The important information transmitted by Strabo about Tartessian literature and its six thousand years of antiquity (pp. 22 and 23) probably comes from Posidonius. Strabo's lengthy dissertation (148-151) on Tartessos has its origin, without

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(1) Estrabón, 148: καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὴν συνεχῆ τῇ Καλπῇ Ταρτησσίδα καλεῖσθαι φησι καὶ Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον εὐδαίμονα · πρὸς ὃν Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀντιλέγων καὶ zauss Jubili¿ *Ú ea6aí Jyow* ••-.. [and Eratosthenes says that the region adjacent to Cclpe s» is called Twtcssis and that Erytheia is the fortunate island. But Artemidoro replies that all this is a fable.

doubt, also in Posidonius, who used Eforos (1). Strabo first reviews what his predecessors said, which are: 1. the zeX«ioí [ancients), among whom Eforos should be included (see p. 121), 2. Eratosthenes; 3. Artemidorus, and then also the mythical texts—which for Strabo are historical—especially Homer, whose Tartarus he interprets as Tartessos. Strabo's reference (148) to the two arms of the Tartessos River and the city located between them naturally comes from ancient sources.

The Romans, the new rulers of the country, paid little attention to the past of the conquered territories. The Roman annals (Liv., e. 21 et seq.) only mention the Turdetani's inability to wage war. *Cato,* in his account of his campaigns, mentions *Turba,* understanding this name to refer to the country of Turdetania (2). *Mela,* who was born in Turdetania, mentions the identification of Tartessos with Carteia, and provides important information about the state of the Betis delta at that time. Shortly before its mouth, the river flows into a large lake and leaves it through two branches. The lake is the *lacus ligustinus* of the Periplus. The difference between *the* data in the Periplus—according to which the river leaves the lake through three branches—and Mela's data can be explained by the disappearance of one of them, the western branch (see chapter IX).

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(1) **See** Ohling: **Qu‹ecf. *Posidon*•** Diss. **Göttingen,** 1908, 30. Artemidorus is the most recent author cited by Strabo, undoubtedly based on Posidonius**. Artemidorus is in fact the predecessor of Posidonius,** continually cited and criticised by him (see Strabo, 138, 157, 172, 267, 830, see Norden, Germnnie, 466).

(2J In Charisiu" *fGrozrim.* fnf., ed. Koil I, 213, 4): *M. Coto dierum* dicta-mm *d"* coftsufntu *uno: indy pe^8** f›*^ '<^ '^ *Tnrtom* }M. Cato, where the gods speak of his conquest: •from there I continue on my way to Turts».

Later writers (1) use • tartesio • to mean anda-luz and even Spanish. Thus, for example, later Latin poets: Silius, 13, 674; 15, 5, Rutil. Namat., 356 (referring to the Tagus river tartesio); Sid. Apollin carmina, 5, 286 (*ad Tartessia•*
cum venit Indus aquator Iberum) [the Indus carries water to the Tartessian Ebro River]. The name was known in the Spanish Renaissance, thanks to Latin poets, and Cervantes, in Don Quixote (2, 13), uses it in the Andalusian sense *(all* Tartessians, *all Castilians...).* Today, the old name has new connotations, since the mines of Río Tinto are called "Tarsis", an appropriate name, as these mines were once exploited by the Tartessians.

The confusion between *Tartessos* and *Gades*, which may already be found in Herodotus and Aristophanes and certainly in Ephorus and Plato, later became widespread, especially in Roman times. Similarly, the city of Mainake was confused with Malaca (Strabo, 156, Avienus, 426), and in this case too, the neighbouring Punic city, heir to the ancient destroyed city, took on its memories (2).

The first Roman author to attest to this error was Cicero, who refers to Balbus of Cadiz as •Tartesian• *(ad Att. 1,* 3, 11). It is also found in Sallust, *Hist., 2*, 5 (*Tar-tessum Hispani‹:e ci'oitatem guam nunc Tyrii mutato nomine Oaddir habent [* Tartessos, city of Spain, now possessed by the Tyrians, with the name changed to Gadir]), in Val. Max., 8, 13, 4 (*Arganthonius* gadtínntisd, in Pliny, 4, 120 (*Gades ...*

(1) The texts (not all) in *Mon.* Ling. /óer., p. 241.

(2) In Italy, the name of an ancient city is often transferred • a nearby medieval foundation. For example, the name Cero has become Ceri (thus, the ancient Core corresponds to the current Cervetri) and Volsini (Orvieto) to Bolsena.

nosíri *Tartes•um appellant)* and 7, 156 *(Arganthonium gadita-*numd, Arrian, 2, 16, 4 (›ii &oi•íxu›v *xría¡ia) T‹iqr-gaa‹-* -«" T¡ni O. v‹¡xy ó Te ›s‹i›ç zezoi-gant z 'Hp«xXei T ixsi [Tartessos, founded by the Phoenicians, subject to Phoenician law and with a temple dedicated to Hercules], in Silio, 16, 465 (in which the young Tartessos comes from Gades), in Avieno, *ora* 85; 269 (*Gadir vocabat ipsam Tartessos prius cognominata).*

Instead of Gades, others assumed that Carfeia was the successor to Tartessos, due to the similarity in name. Pliny (1) and Appian (2) say that the Greeks generally held this opinion, while the Romans opted for Gades. Varro accepted the Greek opinion, following Artemidorus (3). The identification of Carteia with Tartessos is also found in Strabo, 151 (Prot ti Tal *yaatv G¡v v'°›•›* K«pw¡i«› *zçoaa opzüoua‹)* [some (Artemidorus) call the present Carteia Tartessos], in Mela (2, 96: *Carteia ut quidam putant* Tar-tessosd, in Silius, 3, 396 (*Arganthoniacos armas Carteia nepotes [*Caricia arma to the sons of Arganthonios], in Pausanias, 6 , 19, 3 (tio' ót oí K«ptr¡íov 'I)jpuiv xóZw xekeiníl‹n *voJtÇaoai -‹á áq/a.b-zçri*

Tepy•o0v [some believe that Carteia, a city of the Iberians, was formerly called Tartessos].

(lJ 3, 7 (in Varro): *Caricia Tarteaaos a* Gracie *dicta* [Carteia called Tartessos by the Greeks{. v. 4, 120 (in Anon. *de insulta): maiorem Tim‹eus* Cofinusom *ab cleta rocitatam art,* nosfri *Tartassum af:›pellant,* Poeni *Gadir [* dÍCG TÍmeO QUe Ía ÍSla m&yOr (from Gades) s0 Ílam8 COtÍDU9a pOF 9US aceÍt0s; the Romans call it Tartesaos, and the Carthaginians Gadir].

(2) fóer., 63. The Roman general Vetilius flees to Carteia: sç tim..—ro0ú'›, --' 8o\óooj¡ zóktv, Viv i¡ui vop.í(ni zpsç fiRi,vuiv zd\ai T«pw,ssóv ovcti*(erGc: [to Tar-tessos, a city on the seashore, which I believe, in accordance with the Greeks, was formerly called Tartessos].

(3) See Pliny's text, 3, 7, quoted above, and Varro's quote on Hieronymus (Migne, 26, 253): *oppidum* 7'nriccson, *quod nunc vocatur*

But even more serious is the confusion introduced by the *translators and* commentators *of the* Old *Testament.* The LXX generally translate Tarsehisch as 8opae!q,*'* but they also use *bóLaaaa [*mar]: for example, in Isaiah 2:16, replacing a name that was incomprehensible to them with a common and general concept; at other times they use K‹ip2z¡ó‹'» [Carthage] (Isaiah 23:1, 6, Ezekiel 27:12, 38, 13, see Suidas: O«ç .is, N,› K«p;t tóv«¡ Eusth. a Dionys., 195), which the Arabs later replaced with Tunisia. Jose(o (onf. 1, 6) believes that Tartessos is Tarsus of Cilicia, and this opinion is echoed (Estéí. Biz., see .\r¡uo7ivz¡ cod. A,- Eust. a Dion., 195, Schol. Lyeophr., 653). Julio Africano (in Synkellos, p. 380) seeks Tarschiseh in Cyprus and Rhodes, because in the Old Testament it appears alongside Kittim and Rodanim. Others placed it in India, because the ships of Tarshish sailed to the land of gold, Ophir (Suidas, v . 8epptlç, y'ipo -r,ç Ivsixr¡ç. s'ls'› i ,K8s› z‹› *or.s;tc›'›-'
ii pooío› [Tarshish, a region of India, from where Solomon's gold was brought]. The Vulgate writes *filía maris* (Isaiah, 23, 1-10), gentes *maris,* mere.

Luther, following the LXX, translated *oniyoífi tarsthisch* as "ships of the sea," thereby removing the famous name from the Old Testament (except in Genesis 10:4 and Chronicles 1:7, where it was clear that Tarschiseh represented a name). Luther thus gave rise to subsequent confusion, which went so far as to deny the existence of the city of Tartessos. Theologians began by saying that Tartessos was the name of a country; theologians, in fact, stuck to the confusing and vague biblical tradition and did not take Greek sources into account. Then came *Movers,* the scholar, but uncritical historian of the Phoenicians, who, based on all the material in the ancient texts, set out to prove (*Hill. de*

the Phoenicians, 2, 594-614) *that the city called Tartessos never* existed, a huge error and all the more unforgivable given that Movers was familiar with all the textual material.

Movers' immense erudition commanded respect from his successors, and no one felt it necessary to investigate the matter on their own. Thus, Movers' verdict became dogma, and Tartessos was generally regarded as a vague concept, the name of a land or region. This is how it appears in the works of E. Hübner (R. E., vil, 439), W. Christ (*Abhandl. der bayer.* Ak *ad.,* 1865, 122), H. Kiepert (*Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.,* 484), E. Curtius (*Círiech• 'eseh., I ,* 370), Meltzer (*Gesch. d.* tnrfÁ. , 1, 153), Karl Müller (*G. G. M. I. ,* 164), Müllenhoff (D. A., 1, 125) (1), v. Gutschmid (Kl. *Schriflen,* 2, 54), Busolt *(Griech. Gesch.,* 1, 227), Beloch *(Griech. Gesch•,* 1', 1, 223, 251; 296) and others. Other scholars, mainly French, fell into the old confusion of Tartessos with Gades, such as H. Berger (*Erdkunde, 2*, 42), C. Jullian (*Hist. de ía Gaule 1* , 258: •cet état de Cadix ou de Tartessos • and also on pp. 197, 198), Philipon (*Les Ibéres,* 62), A. de Jubainville (*Premiers habitants de l'Europe*, 2 ,* 16), Déchelette (ñfanuef *d'Archéol., 2* , 3 , 1662: Tartesse-Gadir) and Gsell *(Hist. de I'Ak!'eue du Nord,* 1, 415, note 3) who hesitates. Few modern researchers have seen the truth, for example, Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. d• Alt., 2*, 692), Atenstádt (*de Hecataei Fragm•,* 93), Sieglin (*Atlas ant.* sheet 29), Dopp (*Geogr. Studien des E(R) hoTos, I , 8*).

Movers (p. 611) believed that Tartessos was a later invention by Greek writers. K. Müller correctly saw that Tar-

(1) •... for, in reality, the city called Tar-tessos has never existed>.

Tessos is clearly mentioned by Herodotus and Ephorus as a city; but he did not reject the opinion of Mo-vers, instead adopting the even more absurd belief that the city of Tartessos was invented in the 5th century. And yet Herodotus, Eforos, Strabo, and Pausanias all refer to Tartessos as -ói.i: and the old periplus clearly speaks of the *ciciitas (*270, 290) and their walls (297)1 But the data from the periplus generally applied to Gades, as Avienus himself does, even though the city next to the Betis could be none other than Tartessos, since Gades is not in such a location.

Among theologians (1), there is a widespread opinion that Tartessos was a Phoenician colony, even though the hostility between Tartessos and Gades is very clear. This confusion culminates in Redslob, who attempted to prove that Tartessos was Dertosa (today Tortosa) on the Ebro River, and in Hüsing (3femnon, 1907), who sought it in the Persian Gulf.

It could be said that the error of Movers and his followers is like a literary *damnatio memoriae* of Tartessos. It is their fault that the name Tartessos, once so famous, is now almost unknown, and it is their fault that no one has thought to pinpoint the location of the old metropolis or search for its ruins.

(1) For example, Gesenius, *Kommend. to Isaiah, I,* 719, Redslob, Tartes-sus (Progr. d. Hamburg. Aead. Gymnasium, 1849); Schenkel, *Bibellexitoni* Winer, *Bibl. Real iärterbuch;* Riehm, *Handa›änterbuch* des *bibl. Altenlums;* Kalwor, *Bibalwörtarbuch;* H•rzog, *Realenz. /. protez t. Theologie;* Dahse, *Ein Znieites l'Joldland Salomon (*Zt. f. Ethnol., 1911).

CHAPTER YItI

The culture tart esía.

In ancient times, in eras that chronology cannot reach, when the entire north of our continent was still covered by ice, some tribes that lived in Africa, a warmer land and therefore more favourable to human existence, moved to Europe and spread across the south (1). The oldest forms of skulls bear witness to this first race, which is still almost alive: Homo neanderthalensis and Homo moustériensis and examples of the 'hand axe', the oldest tool used by the human species. A more modern wave of African migrants (2) is better known and can be chronologically dated. These were the men of the second Palaeolithic period, the builders of artistic stone and bone instruments, the creators of marvellous drawings and sculptures of men and animals, the first works of human art. These men must have lived around 10,000 BC in Africa, Spain and southern France. After them came a

(1) Obermaier: *£i* hombre */ósif* (Madrid, 1916), p. 21; fig. 1.', p. •a 202. H. Sehuehardt, *Alteuropa* (1919), p. 1 et seq.

Obermaier: Op. cit., p. 204.

third layer of African tribes (1), peoples of neo-political culture

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Between the Tinto and Guadiana rivers, that is, in the immediate vicinity of Tartessos, there still existed in later times the name of the African people who would give the peninsula its name and determine its history to this day: the *Iberians* (2). The African origin of the Iberians is proven with undoubted certainty by the repetition of the name Iberians and numerous Iberian place names in North Africa, as well as by the similarity in the physical and spiritual characteristics of both groups (*Numantia, 1*, 27 et seq.). However, before the Iberians, other primitive settlers seem to have come from Africa, including the *Ligurians,* who spread throughout Spain, Italy, Gaul and much of the northern provinces (*Numantia, 1* , 60 et seq.). The Ligurians gave their name to the lake formed by the Betis near Tartessos (Ligurian Lake) and to an ancient city in that region called "Ligurian City" (3).

One of the first settlements of these African tribes could be *Tartessos.* Its foundation certainly dates back to the second millennium BC, and perhaps even earlier (see chapter II).

Located on the shores of the ocean and at the mouth of the great river that leads inland, Tartessos, if not expressly founded with maritime trade in mind, was predestined for it. It is the oldest of the great emporiums that have flourished at the mouths of ocean rivers, bringing their riches from distant seas. It is the predecessor of Seville, and,

(1) Obermaier: *Op. cit.* 326.

(2) Avieno: Oro *maritima,* 252: num *quic9uid* amnern genere *hujuc adja-cat occiduum ad oxem, Hiberiam cognominanl* [for they call Hiberia *the* whole part of that people which borders on the river along the western line].

(3) *Numantia,* 1, 60; see further on, chap. IX.

like this one, forms part of the series of Atlantic ports: Lisbon, Oporto, Bordeaux, Antwerp, London, Hamburg. Surely the founders of Tartessos were sailors or became sailors, living in a place so favourable for navigation.

Due to its location, Tartessos was also the natural emporium of the Guadalquivir basin. Andalusia is surrounded by mountains to the north, east and south; its natural outlet, its front, is to the west, the mouth of the great river that gives access to the entire region and, like the Nile in Egypt, determines its geography and history. The wealth of the country was concentrated in the city located next to the mouth of the river, as was the case in Massalia with the Rhone and in Alexandria with the Nile. With its dual role as gateway to the ocean and emporium of the interior, Tartessos was predestined to be the capital of Andalusia. The current capital, Seville, is located almost in the same place, a little further upstream. Stretching along the wide river, facing the extensive and fertile valley, Tartessos is reminiscent of the ancient cultures of the East: Egypt, Babylon and China. Like the cities of the East, Tartessos owes the material basis of its ancient culture to the excellence of its location.

The primary source of Tartessian wealth was the Sierra Morena mountain range, with its mineral treasures, which more than two thousand years of exploitation have not yet been able to exhaust. Copper was found near the city, on the banks of the Tinto River; the Tartessos River led the inhabitants inland, to the silver mountain near Cástulo, whose treasures brought it universal fame. Further investigations must soon have led to the discovery of the silver mines of Almeria, the gold of Ilipa, and the lead of Molybdana. The Tartessians' wealth in silver gave rise to fabulous legends similar to those of Peruvian gold. The Phoenicians traded their lead anchors in Tartessos for

mo for silver ones (see p. 18). In the century, it is said that the Turdetani used silver mangers and jars (Strabo, 151). Tartessian bronze was world-renowned and was found, for example, in the treasures of Olympia (see above, p. 58). In ancient times, Tartessos was therefore the city of silver, and its king was called Arganthonios, or 'king of silver'. In ancient times, Tartessos was one of those ideal regions, similar to India and Arabia. The poet Anacreon, a contemporary of Arganthonios, mentions Tartessos as a coveted place, and Plato's beautiful myth about the happy Atlantis seems to refer to Tartessos (see p. 113 ff.).

But the inhabitants of Tartessos were not content with the metals from their own mines. An enterprising and active people, the Tartessians ventured to sail far north to bring back *stannum,* the precious metal essential for the production of bronze.

We do not know when these daring voyages began. Until the 6th century BC, we have no evidence to confirm them. But it is believed that they began much earlier, as the predecessors of the Tartessians (see chapter 11) around 2000 BC brought the metalworking industry to Great Britain, undoubtedly attracted by tin, which was indispensable for their industry. In the second millennium, the Tartessians were already sailing northwards. This can perhaps be inferred from the deposits from the late Bronze Age—that is, from the heyday of Tartessos—found at the sites they occupied: in Brittany, at the mouth of the Garonne and at the mouth of the Odiel (Huelva), which I suppose (Avienus, p. 92) to have been the mining port of Tartessos. A deposit of 400 swords and other bronze objects was recently found in the port of Huelva, the most important of these deposits. *The Tartessians* were...

They were, therefore, the first to sail north. This honour belongs to them and not—as was previously believed (1)—to the Phoenicians, who learned from the Tartessians the route to the lands of the Estafio (2), and even less so to the Carthaginians (3), who did not begin to sail north until after the destruction of Tartessos (4).

The journey of the Tartessians to Brittany was of enormous importance in world history. It inaugurated a series of discoveries in the northern ocean. This daring voyage can be compared to that of Columbus, who set sail two thousand years later from the same coast. Such a long journey across the stormy ocean required great navigational experience and courageous hearts. With a good southerly wind, the journey took about fourteen days, sailing day and night; but if they had to land to spend the night, as was common, it took a month. The journey was therefore long and arduous for the small and weak ships of that time. Changes in the wind favoured navigation.

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(1) This is still believed by Sieglin in *Endeckungsgesch.* von £ngfand (Verh. d. 7, intern. Geogr. Kongr., Berlin, 1899).

(2) It is highly problematic, even that the Tyrians ever sailed north. No one attests to this, since those "Phoenicians" who, according to Strabo (176), sailed to the tin islands off the north-western coast of Spain, are the Carthaginians, whom Strabo calls feni-eiOR (p. 225, 8ÜOiVtF8; ... Ü' *ü *tr](4'J-(0O'é ll j [*the Phoenicians... of Carthage). Furthermore, this text would show that the Phoenicians went to the Spanish tin islands, but not to those of Brittany or England. Hamilcar's voyage of exploration would be inexplicable if the Tyrians already knew the route. In any case, the Phoenicians could not sail north until after they had subjugated Tartessos. It is possible, however, that they left the Tartessians the privilege of sailing north in search of the stadium and were content to have a right of pre-emption in the Tartessos market.

(3) Yerra F. Nansen *(Neefheim,* 1, 40) believes that the first voyage to the North

rencia o monopolio.

was that of Himilcon.

(4) The oldest evidence is Himilco's voyage.

This is because on the Atlantic coast, north winds blow from April to October and south winds from November to May, so ships sailed north in the spring and returned in the summer or autumn (1). They sailed along the western coast of Spain, which the indigenous people called Oestrymnis and the Phocians Ophiussa, crossing the Mediterranean Sea (*R)romunturium Aryium*
(Cape Ortegal) followed the northern coast of Spain to the
the Gulf of Biscay, to the *promunturium Veneris* (Cape Higuer) and along the western coast of Gaul, they reached Oestrymnis, in Brittany, where the Oestrymnios, daring sailors of Ligurian descent, sold them the tin they found on the islands off their coasts (Ouessant, Sein, etc.) or brought from Lerne (Ireland) in their leather boats (Avieno, pp. 113 ff.) (2).

The Tartessians were also undoubtedly the ones who brought omóar, one of the main products of the northern regions, to the south. This can be seen from the knowledge that the voyage demonstrates (v. 129 et seq.) of the countries to the northeast of Britain, of the Ligurians, inhabitants of the North Sea coast (3). This knowledge, as well as that of the islands

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(t) See what eiguc, my edition of Avicno.

(2) From this location, it is very plausible that the Oestrymnians sailed to Ireland in search of the Euphorbia. This is also confirmed by Pliny, 34, 156: *ÑrNciH apflellatum caHSiterum* fabulo5eqtle narrattfm *in in$ula5 Atlan-tici maris Rtti vitilibusque* ti‹awigiis . •.*t circumsutiz* corto *aduehi. (*The Greeks call it cassiteros, and according to the fable, it is extracted from islands in the Atlantic Ocean and transported in wicker ships covered with leather). Pliny's statements agree perfectly with Avienus' description of the oestrymnios ships.

(3) In my edition of Avienus (p. 82), I have demonstrated that the trade in oestrymnios by the North—I mean actually by the Northeast, passing the channel and reaching the eoSta9 of the North Sea. Also Meta, 3, 16, 23, says that the coast continues to the North from Brittany.

British, is due to references to the oestrymnios, which means that they must also have sailed the North Sea. And what purpose could there be for undertaking this voyage other than to collect amber, the most precious product of these regions, from the islands of the North Sea? The Phocians spoke a great deal about amber, so it can be assumed that the Oestrymnians, from whom the Phocians knew these things, sailed along the amber coast. This can be deduced from Herodotus' controversy (see chapter V), which can only refer to Phocian accounts, since later the Carthaginians closed the passage leading to the Ocean.

Amber *(glb:esum)* came from the islands of the North Sea, one of which was called Glaesaria for this reason (Pliny, 4, 97, 37, 35, 42). It came mainly from Abalus-Heligoland (1). The inhabitants of this island then sold it to the Teutons, who lived opposite and traded with them, selling it in turn to foreign traders (2). The oldest direct testimony that mentions the amber trade in the North Sea is Piteas. But long before Pytheas, amber from the North Sea must have been traded, as amber has been found in tombs in southern Spain dating back to around 2000 BC (3), and later in the Odyssey as a Phoenician commodity, which the Phoenicians acquired in Tartessos, just as they acquired es-

(1) Detlefsen (see below) has demonstrated that Abalus is effectively Heligoland. Pytheas surely reached the Elbe River, as can be inferred from his description of the Halligen Sea; this is also demonstrated by Strabo's statement (104) that he had reached "Tanais," which here can be none other than the Elbe River.

(21 Piteas, in Pliny, 4, 94; 37, 35, and Timaeus (by Piteas) in Diodorus› 5, 23, see Hergt, *Nordlandsfahrl des Pytheas,* Diss. Halle, 1893, 31 et seq.; D'tlefSon, *Entdeckung* des germanischen *Nordens* 1904).

(3) Siret, *Questions de chronologie ibérique* (1913), fig. 39.

tafio in this city. Amber from Crete (1), Troy, Mycenae, Pylos, etc., probably also came from the North Sea. It could not have come from the Baltic Sea, because amber from the Baltic coast does not seem to have reached the Mediterranean until the 1st century AD (2), and we know from the spread of the Bell Beaker culture and other imported items that the Pre-Thracians did not go beyond the North Sea (see chapter 11). But there is other direct evidence showing that the Ligurian coast of the Periplus is the coast of amber. These are as follows: 1. The Ligurian king Kyknos (3), a friend of Phaeton, lived on the banks of the Eridanus (Roscher, *Lex• d. Myth.,* p. 1698. RE. XI, 2441), which according to Herodotus, 3, 115 (4), and

(l) Mos9o: *Cia›iltó mediterranea,* p. 290.

{2) According to Soph. Müller, t/rgesch. *Europas›* 141, they had already arrived in the Hallstatt period. But the first reliable evidence comes from Tacitus {Germ.,
45) and Pliny *(H. nat.,* 37, 45). Voa•o Schrader: ficnf/cxilon *d. indogerm.* Afferf., art. *Bernsieini* see also Mullenhof D. A., 1, 216, and Norden, Ccr-monin, p. 446.

(3) This name, which means •eisne•, clearly refers to the singing swans of the North (Müllenhof, D. A. I, 1), depicted on monuments from the late Bronze Age (Déehelette: *Manuel d'Arch.,* ii, 1, 448J.

(4) ^a JÑü Ü(> }tt1Já V0ÜXOJ6tt 'Ü §9 t06fV09 XHÉÜE MG ' üÇ É U(u JGO UN *ü€z fryTLG• I* üt0'-

0 y'›r/ *y Ií4l.‹/oo‹› Ü v rpO¿ §o(›*{v ávs}iov, ‹i"' ólzv x0 fix.*po'› or›'Jv i.g;r›¡ *m"›... [Nor do I believe that there is a river called Eridanus among the barbarians, which flows into the northern sea and from which amber is said to come]. Since amber came from the North Sea and specifically from the islands opposite the mouth of the Elba, the river Eridanus mentioned by Herodotus can only be the Elba (see Hennig, *Dch Erida'iosriitsel› N. Jahnb f. c. kloes. Att.,* 1922, 364). The oldest author to mention the Eridanus is Hesiod (?heo,g., 338), who in this, as in many other things, merely reproduces Phocian traditions. Herodotus says that the name Eridanus is indigenous. The word Eridanus therefore seems to be Ligurian, since the Ligurians were the inhabitants of the North Sea. We do not know to what extent the Phocians reproduced exactly or Hellenised the name (cf. 'Hit-;o›'r,) which they knew through two successive peoples, the Oestrymnians and the Tartessians. Of course, the Periplus likes to

The poet Choirilos (1) refers to a river that flows into the *northern* ocean, namely the Elbe. 2. Amber was called i.:tópr›'› or Ligurian resin (R E., III, 300), 3. The Ambrones, neighbours of the Cimbri and Teutons on the North Sea coast, were Ligures (Plut. *Mario,* 19). A descendant of the Ligurian tribes of the North Sea seems to have been *Fntamelus Eburo (*CIL, XIII, from 6216, Norden, *Germania,* 399), who belonged to the Eburones tribe and therefore came from the lower Rhine. The name Inta-melus is indeed Ligurian. It has the suffix -el,

-mel (Müllenhoff, D. A., 3, 183), so common on the Ligurian Riviera (Blustie-melus, Lebrie-melius, Quia-melius, Inti-milii: Müllenhoff, already cited, 184) and in Spain, which was strongly influenced by the Ligurians (Turtu-melis, Ordu-meles, Sosi milus in the diploma of the Turma Salluitana, Sosi-milus Mon. Ling. Iber., p. 260). It also has the root ludo, which appears in many Spanish names (Índo, Indibeles, Indortes; *Mon.* Lfng. *Iber.,*

Hellenise the names. Ouizí Eridano may be related to the suffix *danu,* frequently found in the names of rivers (e.g. Apidanus, Sandanus, in Thrace; Eridano, in Attica; Jardanus, in Asia, and Greece, Dan-uvius), and with Spanish place names in Ir: Iria, Irippo, Irisama (in Apiano leer, 69, there is 'Fipm* r,4. Later, the Eridanus was confused with the Rhone (first in Esquito: Plin., 37, 321) and with the Po (first in Ferúeides, fr. 33, c, and then in Eseilax, 19, in Eloros Escimn., 395). The causes of this confusion were: that once the strait was closed, news about the North Sea and the Eridanus was forgotten; 2. that the amber emporia, Massalia and Aquileia, were close to the mouths of the Rhone and the Po. In addition, there was the similarity in name between the Eridanus and the Rhone. In Apollodorus, *Argonautica, 4*, 629, the three interpretations of the Eridanus are confused.

(1) Frag. 14 in *Frogm. ef:Lic. C•ruc.,* ed. Kinkel (see Escol. Bern., *Verg. G ogr•t 1,* 482): *Ctzsiax hunc in India acsa adfirmat, Choeriluc in Clermania* [Ctesias says it is in India and Choerilus that it is in Germany]. Naturally, Ch. was referring to "Scythia". There are more recent accounts that consider the Erid•no to be a river of the North Sea: Timaeus (*Diad.t 4,* J6, 3): Apoll. Rod. *Argont 4* , 627; Dion. Chrysostom, *Discourses,* 79, pdg. 434, de Reiske;
Eieol. Dion., Pcrieg., 290; Pausan., 1, 4, 1; Val. Flaeeo, 5, 43, 1.

258); and, finally, it is closely related to the name of the Ligurian town of Intimilii on the Riviera, from which the current name of Ventimiglia derives. Perhaps the name of the Eburones itself is also Ligurian, as it is very similar to the name of *the fundus Eburelia,* located in the region of the Ligurian Veleiates, and to the Spanish place names Ebora, Eburaneum, Eburobrittium (*Mon Ling. Iber.* 231). It should be noted that, as in Italy, there is also a Ligurian background in Celtic peoples.

To designate tin, the Phocians adopted the indigenous name (Kassi-ter-os). However, for amber, they did not use the indigenous name at the time—which must have been Ligurian—but rather a Greek name, and because of the similarity between the colour of amber and light gold, they called it electron (í¡Ktxzpo›). The Romans later used the Germanic name for amber, *glaesum (*Pliny, 4, 97, 103, 37, 42, Tacitus *Germ.,* 45).

Thus, products from the north reached the Mediterranean via two markets and stages: Oestrymnis and Tartessos. The trade route from the North Sea to the Mediterranean was therefore made up of three sections: one Oestrymnian, one Tartessian and one Massaliot. Each of these sections represented a monopoly. The Phoenicians and Marseillais did not go beyond Tartessos; the Tartessians did not go beyond Oestrymnis. Similarly, in the Middle Ages, the Italians only travelled as far as Bruges and London, whose inhabitants reserved the exploitation of the North Sea for themselves. Tartessos was more important for its tin market—at least in the Bronze Age—than for its silver wealth, as tin was worth more than silver at that time. It would be interesting to know more about the Oestrymnians, the commercial allies of the Tartessians. The Oestrymnians were the most skilled navigators of the northern seas,

Precursors of the Frisians, Saxons, Normans, and Hanseatics, they were the discoverers of the British Isles and the North Sea. Pytheas later spoke of them, and they are mentioned again when they submitted to Caesar. Their descendants are those cod fishermen whom Pierre Loti made famous in his book Pêcheurs d'Islande. The Periplus (Avienus, 98) describes the Oestrymnians as bold navigators and active traders:

> *... multa vis hic genlis est, Superbus*
> animus, e/Ęcaz *sollertia, Negotiandi cura*
> *iugis omnibus.*

[This town has a lot of energy, superb spirit, tireless activity, and a constant desire to trade with everyone.] In other words, it is the same motto as the Hanseatic League: •*Naoigare necesse, uivere non* necesse •. [Sailing is necessary, but living is not necessary.]

The Oestrymnios undoubtedly belonged to the great prehistoric people of the Ligurians, who once spread across the eastern oceans to the northernmost regions. This ancestry is consistent with their boldness at sea, a beautiful trait of the Ligurian race. This maritime boldness finds its most beautiful embodiment in the figure of Christopher Columbus, son of the Ligurian Riviera, whose inhabitants were already famous in ancient times as daring sailors (*Numantia, 1*, 76).

It is strange that the oestrymnios did not sail to England, but to Ireland (Avienus, 108-112). The voyage mentions England only in passing. From this we can infer that the tin mines of Cornwall had not yet been discovered in the 6th century (1).

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(1) The oldest testimony is Piteas (in Diodorus, 5, 22, on Timaeus).

It should also be noted that the pre-Hellenic peoples of the millennium went

to Ireland than to England (see pp. 29 and 30).

Also noteworthy are the leather boats used by the Oestrymnios. This ancient type of boat is found all along the ocean coast, from the North Sea to Portugal, and still exists in Wales and Ireland. In ancient times they were called *curucos;* today they are known as "eoracle" (1).

Having ventured north to Brittany,

It is reasonable to believe that the Tartessians also set sail for the coasts *of N/ric‹inns,* which were closer and no less productive. These coasts were inhabited by barbarians, who gladly acquired Tartessian industrial goods in exchange for their raw materials, such as gold and ivory. In the Old Testament (Jeremiah 10:9), we read that the Tyrians carried silver from Tarshish and gold from Ufas, that is, from Ite, at the mouth of the Niger (see p. 16). It is clear that they learned this route to Ufas from the Tartessians. It seems that in Benin (mouth of the Niger) there are ancient swords, similar to those of the late Bronze Age (Frobenius: *Auf dem Wege nach Atlantis,* 1911, p. 14); they could have arrived there via the Tartessians. When Hanno later travelled along the western coast of Africa, he undoubtedly followed in the footsteps of the Tartessians, as Himileón did on his journey north.

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(1) See the quotations provided by Holder—art. curucos—; but those referring to the North Sea (Isidore, *EGmol.,* 19, 1, 21) and Lusitania (Strabo, 155) are missing. Pokorny (in *Zt.* /ür *celt. Phil.,* 1917, 201) has shown that leather boats are a product of the culture of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Ireland, whom the Celts called 'Fir-bolg', meaning 'men of the skin boats'. In the time of Caesar, we find another type of ship among the Veneti, neighbours of the Oestrymni, which appears to be more developed: strong ships of oak with high castles at the bow a n d stern (Caesar: *De bello gal.,* 3› 13, Entr•bón, 195). Perhaps this is the model for the Hanseatic ships.

There is no evidence that the Tartessians sailed the *Mediterranean*, and it is unlikely that they would have ventured onto that hospitable sea. As good traders, they undoubtedly made an effort to acquire foreign goods at their points of origin, where they were cheaper than in the Tartessos market, but they would have been hindered by Eastern competitors and pirates. Tartessos faces the ocean, not the Mediterranean.

There is perhaps an allusion to the Tartessians' trade with Sardinia in the aforementioned reference to the Tartessian king Norax, who founded the city of Nora (1) in Sardinia, but the Cretans would have been the intermediaries.

Thus, trading with the North, South, and East, Tartessos was Tartessos one of the largest markets of antiquity and the intermediary between distant worlds that were more than 3,000 kilometres apart.

Unfortunately, we do not know what those Tartessian ships that arrived at Oestrymnis were like. The voyage attests to their speed (2), as they covered 1,200 stadia and more sailing night and day, that is, 200 stadia more than the current, which was 1,000 stadia. From this we can deduce that the Tartessians had sailing ships like the Cretans and other ancient navigators of the Mediterranean. This is confirmed by the Periplus, which states that to enter the Tagus estuary it is necessary to row with a westerly wind and then with a southerly wind (Avienus, 174). Of course, in addition to sails, they also used oars. Furthermore, the ships of Tartessos, which had to be supported by the

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(lJ Solin., p. S0, Mommsen, Salustio, *ffis/.,* 2, S; Pausan., 10, 17, 5; see above p. 52.

(2) See my edition of Avienus.

Gulf of Biscay, they must have been stronger and more solid than the others in the Mediterranean.

There is also no lack of evidence of a navy, and it is reasonable to assume that they had one, given the importance of their merchant navy (see pp. 41 and 42).

The *Jtfeiaf* navigation, so important in later Turdetania, must have already flourished in Tartessos, since the river was the most convenient way to transport the metals found on its banks. The Tartessians must have been the creators of *the network of canals* described by Posidonius (Strabo), which served both for navigation and irrigation. As in Egypt and Babylon, irrigation canals were certainly a very important element of agriculture in Tartessos. It is no coincidence that such works, which require centralisation, are found only in monarchical countries (Egypt, Babylon, Tartessos).

Tartessos probably also had a *road* system, which was essential in a centralised state. We already know about the Mainake-Tartessos-Tajo road used by the Phoenicians in the final days of Tartessos, as it crossed Tartessian territory and also served Tartessian interests. It is reasonable to assume that it was built with the permission and even the assistance of the Tartessian empire.

Since time immemorial, all branches of *agriculture* have flourished in Tartessos. On the islands of the delta graze the bulls of King Geron (Geryoneus), those bulls which, according to legend, prompted Hercules to travel to these regions. In the wide and fertile plains of the Betis valley, agriculture yielded magnificent fruits. It is said that its invention is attributed to the mythical King Habis. Another Tartessian king, Gargoris, is said to have discovered the cultivation of bees, which later gave its name to the eiu-

Mellaria. When did olive cultivation begin, given that the olive tree was, in ancient times and still today, the classic tree of Andalusia? We do not know. But wild olive trees grew in the land of Betis—which is why the Phocians gave the island of Gades the name Kotinussa. All that was needed, then, was to improve and refine it. The Tartessians must have learned this from the Easterners, in whose lands the olive tree is indigenous; but it is unlikely that it was the Phoenicians—who sold them oil (*De mir.ausc.,*135)—but rather the Greeks who taught them to cultivate olive trees. It was also the Greeks who spread the olive tree along the eastern coast of Spain (Avieno, 495). The Tartessians also owed their knowledge of the vine, which was already indigenous to the eastern coast in the 6th century (Avieno, 501), to their relations with the Orientals.

In a fortress dating back to the time of the Battle of Munda (45 BC), a large number of Iberian reliefs depicting scenes of peace and war have been found in Osuna, formerly Urso, along with the remains of magnificent tombs. Recently, a pair of archaic-style lions was found near Córdoba (now in the Córdoba Museum). It is possible that these works are not very old, but they represent a long artistic tradition and justify the hypothesis that the plastic arts were also cultivated in ancient Turdetania. It is noteworthy that *Iberian sculpture developed in the south and south-east of Spain, that is, in the Tartessian territory;* only here was the ground prepared—through the traditional practice of art—to receive the founding influence of Greek art (see p. 62). These Iberian sculptures offer only a glimpse of the ancient Tartessian art, whose works still lie buried underground, awaiting the lucky discoverer who will bring them to light. When *Andalusia has found its Schliemann,*

The world and Tartessian art will display their brilliance in a sudden and surprising way

suddenly and surprisingly, like Troy and Crete.

But Tartessian culture was also a *spiritual culture.* This can be deduced from what we know about their ancient literature. This characteristic feature elevates Tartessos far above the other Iberian peoples. The other Iberian tribes never developed their own literature, to the extent that even in imperial Spain—with the exception of Andalusia—there were very few writers. In contrast, according to Strabo's references, Tartessos possessed annals, songs and laws in metrical form dating back 6,000 years (see p. 22). This is one of the most important pieces of information (9) we have, testimony

of the oldest European spiritual culture. And the fact that

Strabo's words have gone almost unnoticed demonstrates once again that our scientists and philosophers have continually neglected the West in favour of Eastern cultures.

Strabo's passage reads as follows: • The Turdetani are the most cultured of all the Iberians, for they use letters and have possessed them since ancient times (@c -«k«tfi¢ ¡iv p .y¢) written in prose (uoypó¡ip.aro), poems (zoijp.ez«) and laws in metrical form (vóp.ooh i¡iptipoox) which, according to them, are more than 6,000 years old.• The cv Jpñti¡i«ia undoubtedly refer to annals, while the poems refer to epic or lyric poetry (1). But the most notable are those •laws in metrical form• .

The expression undoubtedly refers to actual laws, not to

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(1) E. Nordeii draws my attention to ol pasajt by Técito. *Germ., 2: mkbrant narmínibuc aniiquis, quod unnm opud* i/fos memori‹ie ef *annalium ganas est, Tuictonem* [they celebrate • Tuistón in ancient verses, which are for them both annals and memories]. The Germans, therefore, considered only carmine [roraos] and not analos to be sources of their past.

simple moral maxims such as those of Focilides and Theognis. Metrical laws were more common than initially believed. Here are some quotes: 1. Athen., 14, p. 619 or: to›i• ñi 'A6í,›r¡‹n x«' oí X«poiv¢oo vo¡ioi rap o(voy. [The laws of Charon-das were sung at banquets in Athens.] If the laws of Charondas were sung, they had to be metrical or rhythmic. 2. Plutarch, *Solon,* 3: ivioi *hz'Vaa‹ , crs xa"*•. león ›ó¡ioo;

ἐπεχείρησεν ἐντείνας εἰς ἔπος ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ διαμνημονεύουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν · Πρῶτα μὲν εὐχώμεσθα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆι, Θεσμοὶς *Zoiaó-• r'a-¿r¡v* ü}effí}v xs' xii6oG ózóoooi [Some say that he attempted to put his laws into verse, and they recall the opening lines, which were as follows: First and foremost, let us implore Zeus, son of Kronos, for good fortune and stability for these laws.] 3. Caesar, *in B. G.*, 6, 14, says of the druids' students: magnum *numerum oersuum ediscere* dicuntur. [It is said that they knew a large number of verses by heart.] These verses were undoubtedly moral and religious maxims. 4. Sievers has published a Code of ancient Sweden written in metrical form (• ñfetrische *fiíu-dien•,* Abh. d. phil. dist. Klasse der sáchs. Akad. d. Win., vol. 35, 1918-19), and he informs me in a letter: • In my opinion, a large part of the laws of the Old Testament are composed in true verse, in the strict sense of the word; but they are free verses', as in the laws of ancient Germania, verses that can vary in length and grouping according to the needs of the content. I have seen the beginning of the 'Book of the Covenant' (Exodus, 21) and it is written in very clear verse. Norden also speaks of the rhythmic laws of the Frisians (*Kunstprosa, 1*, 161).

The fact that the Tartessians possessed written laws in such a remote era is another feature reminiscent of the ancient Eastern empires (Hammurabi!). Note the late

date when other peoples began to write down their laws: the Greeks in the 8th-7th centuries, the Romans in the 5th century; not to mention the Celts, Germanic peoples, and Iberians. It is possible that among the Tartessian laws there was a precept that prohibited young people from testifying in court against the elderly (1). The legends we have mentioned above (p. 49 ff.) about the ancient kings of Tartessos perhaps give us an idea of the content of the annals. Perhaps these annals also included the Tartessian tradition that the Ethiopians once inhabited Turdetania (2). Strabo's quote suggests that these annals went back to 6000 BC, but the first millennia were naturally as unreliable as in the chronicles of the East.

What is remarkable about the Tartessian epics and songs is not so much that they existed—for many peoples had them—but that they were written down so early.

When the Tartessians attributed 6,000 years of antiquity to their annals, epics and laws, they did not mean that their written records were also that old and that they already possessed a 6,000-year-old script (3). Aho-

(1) Nic. Damase., frag. 103 of Eforos: ñH{9‹i TGp ssío:J'J3‹'l?i{ii.U ügG0 vT_psv *mepnpxvps'z ouz Que:v [among the Tartessians, it is not permitted for the younger testimony to contradict the older one].

(2) Ephorus, frag. 1, ó, Dopp Strabo, 33; \t;sotís: ú-'› 4'‹«'•yoáui› \ íßtocn; Jv Ai§u5v iukilóvseç }ieyi 85 t‹o¢ -sub ¡Lv ‹tv-cu ¡ui'›«', -oü; o' xci fi; fipacoç (the code says z«p«kínç) xcz«r/*iv xoiAñ¡v (it says that according to the Tartessians, when the Ethiopians had travelled through Libya to the West, some remained there, but others occupied part of the land on the other side (the code says: part of the coast)). The same is said by Escímno, 157 (Ephorus), Dionysius, Oróis *terr.,* 174 (Avienus, Ore *mar.,* 332 and *Orbis terr.,* 21, 262).

(3) Wilke *(Sudi»eytturop.* 3f *galithhuliur,* p. 63) reproduces some signs from the Alyao dolmens in northern Portugal (Pomtg«/in, I, 1899-1903, pfig. 738) as Neolithic writing. However, I believe that this is a falsification.

Well, given that the reference dates from before the destruction of Tartessos (500 BC), the script must have been ancient because it would have been in use for centuries. In any case, the Tartessians had their *own* ancient *script*, which was used not only for practical and ephemeral purposes such as reports and documents, or, more importantly, to establish the laws of the country, but also to record *historical events; the Tartessians had thus, a 'true literature'.* More than for its daring sea voyages, more than for its ancient industry and trade, Tartessos stands out for its own spiritual culture and represents a unique case in the history of the West. Tartessos is the only culture of its own that the West ever encountered.

We do not know the Tartessian script; the symbols that appear on the coins of nine cities in southern Turdetania *(Con. ling. iber.,* pp. 7, 118-123) may be of Tartessian origin, and they differ completely from the common Iberian script. Earlier, we had to compare Tartessos with the oldest civilisations of the East: Egypt, Babylon, China. We can now expand on that comparison. Those Eastern cultures were the three places where writing originated independently of each other; thus, Tartessos also possessed its own ancient writing system. From now on, it should be considered the fourth cradle of letters.

When discussing this ancient Tartessian literature, we cannot help but utter a cry of pain and reproach. The Romans are to blame for the loss of those precious monuments of Tartessian antiquity (which still existed in Posidonius' time, 100 BC). The Romans called the peoples of the West barbarians, but they themselves were the barbarians, stupidly destroying the vestiges of other cultures.

The ancient written laws of the Tartessians give us a

highly developed political constitution, and in this respect too the Tartessians were far superior to the other Iberians. The latter lived scattered among a multitude of independent tribes and cantons, in a state of near anarchy. Tartessos, on the other hand, formed a city with an extensive empire and an ancient monarchy.

The *city* of Tartessos, a source of such rich vitality, was located on the main branch of the Tartessos River, the Guadalquivir, on the right bank, just before the mouth, which served as its port, in a location conducive to maritime and river traffic (see chapter IX). Two protruding buildings indicated to sailors the entrance to the Tartessos River and the proximity of the city of silver. On the strip of land to the left, entering from the sea to the river, stood a temple; to the right, on the Salmedina bank, was the fortress of the old king Gerón. Perhaps a great fire shone at night in the tower of the fortress, as later shone in the same place the lighthouse of Caepion, which gave its name to the town of Chipiona.

The city's boundaries stretched from the River Iberus (Riotinto), the border of the Iberian tribe, to the main branch of the Betis, the border of the Cilbicenos (1). The territory of the city must also have included *Mons Tarfessiorum,* the tree-covered dunes between Betis and Gades (2).

But Tartessos was not only a commercial city, it was also a power. Like Carthage, it possessed a great land empire, and with it a wide sphere of influence and firm support, which the Greek commercial cities lacked, even Athens itself (

(1) Avienus, 253-55.
(2) Avienus, 308.

That great *empire* of Tartessos is a marvellous historical phenomenon (see map 11). Tartessos is the oldest city-state in the West. In this sense, it is also reminiscent of the Eastern empires. Like them, the empire of the city of Tartessos was formed by a concentration of the state in monarchical form. Such a large empire is an unmistakable sign of extraordinary cultural development. There remain the problems of the remote origin and long duration of the empire, which lasted more than 1,000 years.

The empire of Tartessos is based on the geographical isolation of the Guadalquivir basin. Andalusia is separated from the rest of Spain by the Sierra Morena, which was also the boundary of the Roman province of Hispania Ulterior. Due to its geographical and cultural position, Turdetania-Andalusia can be compared to Asia Minor and Africa Minor, separated from the rest of the continent by the Taurus Mountains and the Sahara, facing the sea and with their backs to the land. The empire of Tartessos extended westwards to the Anas and the Cinetas (Avieno, 223, 254) and eastwards to the Júear (1) (Avieno, 462). To the north, the Sierra Morena formed its natural border. The empire of Tartessos thus corresponded to the kingdom of Andalusia, the Guadalquivir basin, the most fertile and metal-rich part of the entire peninsula.

(1) After mentioning the three islands of Plana, Benidorm and Ifech, that is, after describing the coastline up to Cape Nao, the journey continues: Aire *termin us* quondnm sfetit *Tarta»aiorum, hic Herna tie'itas suit* [here was the border of the Tartessians; here stood the city of Hern•}. But the border of the empire seems to have been somewhat further north, at the river Sieanus (Júcar), since, according to v. 469, the river Ora marked the border between the Gimnetas, who belonged to Tartessos, and the Iberians, the free tribes who lived outside the Tartessian empire. Furthermore, the Turdetani were neighbours of Sagunto (Liv., 21, 6, 1, and above, fig. 102), which indicates that the borders of the empire reached as far as the river.

Different *tribes* inhabited this vast territory.

On the coast, starting from the west, there were: 1. *The Iberians,* from the Anas to the Tinto River (see 252) (1), 2. *The Tartessii,* that is, the outskirts of the city, from the Tinto River to the main branch of the Betis (see 254), 3. The Cilbiceni from the Betis to the Chrysus (Guadiaro: see 419 f) (2), 4. The
of the Betis (see 254), 3. *Cilbiceni* from the Betis to the Chrysus (Guadiaro: see 419 *f)* (2), 4. *Massieni,* from the Chrysus to Massia *(Carlagena:* 422, 452) with the cities of the
Libyans on the coast (421, 440), and finally, 5th, the Gim-netas up to the Sicanus *(Fúcar,* 464, 469). In the Betis valley there were: near the mouth, *Tartessii and Cilbiceni;* further up, *Ileates;* and towards the source, *Etmanei (*298 /d. We know nothing about the political ties that united all these tribes to Tartessos, except that they were subject to its empire (3). Given the peaceful nature of Tartessos, it is likely that they enjoyed

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(1) The *Iòerí* belong to the empire of Tartessos. Avienus, 2f3-54, serialises the river Iberus as the boundary between *the Iberians and* the Tartessians, but here he uses the word *tartessii* in the strict sense of the territory of the capital, since he also distinguishes between the Tartessians and the *Cilbiceni,* who nevertheless also belonged to the Tartessian Empire. The Tartessians, in a broad sense, extended as far as the river Anas; they therefore included the Iberians, as can be deduced from verse 223: ... fnrïessius riper Otis ndžiœref (the Tartessian territory borders on the east]; ftis[dstos], however, are the Cinetas, whose eastern border was the Anas. Herodotus also says that the Tartessians bordered the Cinetas (frag. 20)' zpúìxuv }iiv ‚KuvĘltq ... ţi-x‹x s' Tsp bloom, psiü ò' 'Ek§ooívio9 ţiexü 51 M«œirvo', ţiüTC òÚ } iŸ t7vot (first the Cinetes..., then the Tartessians, then the Elbisi-nios, then the Mastieni, then the Eelcians]. The Elbisini—according to EstCf: '0k§vs'viov or also '0k§ùo:rat—are the inhabitants of Olba (Huelva) and the Celeians are *tea cilbiceni* from the periplus.

(2) In verse 254, the furfes4fi and the *cifòiceni* are mentioned together. Therefore, verse 422 should be written as follows: røgno *Cilbicena* sung /erocis *agri* et *diiii-toe Tantccii* [the Cilbicena dominions of strong fields and the rich Tartessians]• The first edition says fiefòyssinn.

(3) Él7osta, y I'm(9O Jüofi:p.c (eod. CñoüÜ:Iicv-j) ?r tÿ TíZb7W{os'r7:ÿ [Massia, eo-mark subject to the Tartessians]: Estéf., probl. de Hecateo; Prxsx't T•z(øž¡:ore: Polib., 3 , 24, 2 (see above, p. 12).

quite independent, since Avienus and Hecateus mention them alongside the Tartessians.

The occupation of such a vast territory suggests that the Tartessians were originally a warrior people. When they fell under the rule of the Tyrians, they were certainly not bellicose. But between that moment and the first conquest, perhaps a millennium had passed, and in such a long time they could very well have weakened and softened due to the mild climate of their new homeland and the wealth they quickly acquired. This hypothesis is supported by numerous analogies. The people of Lydia, who had such a bad reputation for cowardice and softness, were once, according to Herodotus (1, 79), a brave people. Who would recognise the people of Cyrus in those Persians whom Alexander drove like cattle? Who would think that the weak Etruscans of the fourth century (Theopompus, frag. 222) were the descendants of those warriors who conquered Italy? In Asia Minor, the Gauls (Livy, 38, 17), in Campania, the Samnites, in Aetolia, the Vandals, lost all their warrior energy. But the closest analogy is with the Berber and Arab conquerors of Spain, whose warlike ardour dissipated in the Andalusia of the Tartessians.

In the history of the peninsula, the empire of Tartessos constitutes an isolated phenomenon, not only culturally, but also politically. It was the only important political formation in ancient Iberia that never managed to move beyond being an independent tribe and canton, and at most formed loose and ephemeral alliances. Its favourable geographical location, between two seas, and the richness of its soil seem to have made Turdetania the centre of gravity of the peninsula. Why, one might ask, did the Tartessians not extend their dominion even further, at least over the entire coast, which was worth conquering?

and that presented no natural obstacles. The centre was undoubtedly unattractive and difficult to access, but the eastern coast was not. The cause of this limitation was not the arrival of the Carthaginians, but rather the peaceful development of the Tartessians. It was written in the book of destiny that the unity of the peninsula would be the work, not of the rich and peaceful lowlands, but of the poor and warlike plateau. This is a general phenomenon and a doctrine of history. Dominion over Asia did not originate in Mesopotamia, but in the Iranian plateau. Hellas was unified not by Athens but by Macedonia; ancient Italy not by Greece but by Rome, and modern Italy not by Naples but by Piedmont. French unity did not originate in the old and very wealthy Provence, but in the Germanic North; and German unity does not come from the beautiful Rhine, but from the sands of the Marca.

The Tartessian state had been organised since ancient times. This can be deduced from those ancient laws, which were soon recorded in writing. Unlike the free tribes of the interior, who only accepted a leader in times of war, the Tartessians had obeyed their own *kings* since ancient times. We know of some of them. Apart from the mythical names of Habix and Gargoris, we know of Gerón, who was defeated by the Tyrians, of Norax, his descendant, and of Arganthonios, friend of the Phocians. The verses of the Bible recall the kings of Tartessos (see p. 15). Perhaps they had in mind those gold and silver diadems that have been found in the prehistoric tombs of Andalusia (1). The kings of Tartessos were highly honoured, descended from the gods. The kings pos-

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(1) Silver: Sirot, *Prcmier dge de metal.* Gold: Góngora, *Antigúe-dadas pmhistóncas d• Andalucía I86Bj,* 29.

others also received divine honours, mainly Ge-rón (see p. 48).

The king's *subjects* were divided into aristocratic classes. There was a ruling class to whom all menial labour was forbidden, and a servile class divided into seven castes (1). Tradition has it that Habis was the one who divided the people into seven castes, which bears a certain resemblance to the Persian tradition, according to which King Jem divided the Persians into four classes (2). We find this same aristocratic division in other countries, notable for their ancient wealth and early culture: India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, Peru, and Mexico. As in these countries, it is possible that in Tartessos the ruling class also kept the wealth for itself, reducing the other inhabitants to servitude. This class difference becomes even more understandable if we assume that the Tartessians were foreign conquerors, like the Indians and the Spartans, and that the servile class were the indigenous people who had been conquered and reduced to the status of parthians and helots. Perhaps this would explain the easy victory of the Tyrians, due to the desertion of the subjugated people, who would have seen these foreigners as their liberators.

The *gods* of the Tartessians were the stars: the sun, the moon, and the morning star (Venus). The goddess Moon had a sanctuary in

(1) Justino, 44, 4, 13: nd *hoc (Habic) et ministerio serwilia Populo inter• dicta at plebc* in sepftm urbes *fiois‹a* [úste—Habis—prohibited the people from performing menial tasks and divided the plebs into seven cities]. Instead of iiróes [city], I suspect that he actually said ordines [classes], as it is clear that they are the same as those that exist in other peoples: seven also in India (Arrian, *Ind.,* 11, Strabo, 703), six in Egypt (Diodorus, 1, 73-74), four in Persia (Spiegel, £mn. *Altertumckund«, 3,* 549), four in the Iberians of the Caucasus (Strabo, 501), five in Arabia (Strabo, 782), three in the unfortunate city of Euhemoros (Diod., 5, 45, 3), six in the ideal city of Aristotle (*pol.* 1328, o).

(2) Spiegel, *Eran•* Alt«rfumzhunde, 3, 525.

the island opposite Mainake, which belonged to the Tartessian empire (Avienus, 367, 429). The series of Tartessian kings begins with Sol (see above, p. 51). In the Turdetani city of Aeei (Maerob. 1, 19, 5, CIL. 11, 3386) there is a sun god, Neto, who reappears in neighbouring Lusitania (CIL. 11, 365, 5278). Turdetani coins feature images of the sun, moon, and stars (MOVCfiS, (**R•)cit.,* 652; Delgado, flfone-
das autónomas de España, II). The star represents the planet Venus, the most beautiful of the celestial luminaries, the morning star, which the Tartessians worshipped alongside the sun and the moon. The planet Venus had a temple on the hill of Sanlúcar, next to the mouth of the Betis River (1). Strabo (page 140) attributes it to the 4oosópos or *Lux divina (*2); Mela (3, 4), on the other hand, to Juno (Lucina). Lux *di'uina* has given its name to the town of Sanlúcar.

The worship of the three stars is reminiscent of Babylon, and perhaps originated in that city—at least immediately—but it may also be one of the elements that testify to the African origin of the Tartessians (3). In addition to the shining stars, the Tartessians also worshipped the dark powers of the underworld. Next to the mouth of the Tinto River, on the hill of Santa Maria de la Rábida, the most famous sailor saw

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(1) temple was in the place now occupied by the cathedral, where there are there are eight ancient columns.

(2) The words \oiizsp 0oo§'av should be read kooxzp 0t§tve'z. T h u s , in eteeto, from the two votive inscriptions to *Lm diuina* ClL, II, 676-677.

(3) On the Berbers' worship of the stars, see Herodotus, 4, 118; GHe, *Hk'H t. de ÍA frique,* 248, who very appropriately insists that the worship of the stars in North Africa predates the Carthaginians. Tou-tain, Rev. *d«i a (. anc-,* 191t, 161, considers the trinity of Sun, Moon, and Venus to be Punic, although he himself notes that the cult of the stars is not limited to the region of Carthage, but extends to the interior of the country.

saliota a sanctuary dedicated to the infernal goddess (see fig. 178)• The Greek myths located in this region: the 'Aop'zoG).ip›r, (Lake Avernus], Tartarus, the dog of Geryoneus Orthos

—brother of Cerberus—, the Stygian palace, supported on silver columns, allude to the indigenous cult of the subterranean powers.

On the small island of San Sebastián, west of Gades, is

That is to say, in Tartessian territory, the Massaliote sailor (Avienus, 315) found the cult of a *sea goddess* whom Avienus calls Kentts morrna, and whom the Periplus undoubtedly called Aphrodite (Euploia). She was worshipped in a cave and pronounced oracles (1). This sea goddess is also found on other islands and promontories along the Spanish coast, for example, at the eastern and western ends of the Pyrenees and at Cape Gata. The goddess also seems to have been called Juno in some cases. Thus, for example, the Venus of Gades, according to other testimonies, is called Juno (Pliny, 4, 120), Juno was worshipped at Cape Trafalgar (Plin., 3, 7, Ptol., 2, 4, 5) and also on a small island in the Strait of Gibraltar (Avieno, 353; Strabo, 168).

This goddess, who inhabited the promontories and coastal islands, is perfectly suited to a seafaring people such as the Tartessians. She was undoubtedly the patron saint of sailors, just as Our Lady of Guard is today in Marseille and Our Lady of Africa in Algiers. Similarly, on the Salmedina Bank, feared by sailors, which lies at the mouth of the Tartessos River, lived the old king Gerón, undoubtedly considered the father of the Tartessians.

(1) E8tO rDcuHrda to the DueVe viFgDnes of the island of Jena (Sein) on the coast of Brittany. The nine virgins ruled over the sea and predicted the future (Melc, 3, 48). Other sea goddesses who also resided on islands and gave oracles are Calypso and Circo.

throne of sailors; so much so that the Greeks confused him with their sea god Glaucus (see p. 47). The Tartessians and Phocians, upon entering the river, directed their prayers to the god Geron Glaucus. Another patron of sailors was the hero Menestheus, who had a temple and oracle in the port of Santa Maria.

The respect that the Tartessians showed to the elderly (1) gives us a favourable impression of their ethical culture (see p. 121). Such respect for the elderly is found almost exclusively in civilised peoples, whereas barbarians tend to kill the **elderly (2).**

We can perhaps form an approximate concept of the
The most apparent characteristic of their entire history is their lack of military spirit. They were a completely non-warlike people, a people entirely devoted to the arts of peace. The Tartessians submitted to the Tyrians, who were by no means heroes, and the Turdetani later took Iberian mercenaries to defend themselves and were unable to resist either the Carthaginians or the Romans. Titus Livius says of them: omnii *Hispanorum ma-sime imbelles habentur Turdetani [*of all the Spaniards, the Turdetani are considered the least suited to war]. Caesar describes the inhabitants of Baetica as restless and eobar-

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(1) Compare what is said about Gades (Eusth. to Dionys., 453): im: t' x8l gul‹l, @Ç0'v, iapov 7oiÇ *tf'X t XkfiWtak ,9 'r,É!XI'av* W,¥ pdGo0T£fY Zo Ó [there is, **they say,** a temple **of Geros,** where the people there honour **the old man** who **knows** many things]; Philostr., *Vita Apollon.,* 5, 4: úl¡pm¢ ouv §iuiiov *'io¿a›-•a'.* (they established a sanctuary to Geros]. They seem **almost reminiscent of Tartessos.**

(2) Ed. Meyer, Gcscé. *d. Alt.,* l•, 1, 30. The "Albanians of the Caucasus" are an exception (Strabo, f03): uzsp§nIkóv-uiç ó' io)§po¢ x:pii›o'v 'Ai.§z›ol zot xo xúiv aMuiv, ou ti›v }ovíuiv ¡tévo'z **[the Albanians greatly honour** old **age,** and not only in their own parents, but in all other men].

des (1). On the other hand, the peaceful nature of the Tartessians offers a very pleasant and commendable aspect in the cordial hospitality with which they welcomed foreigners. Strabo emphasises this praiseworthy side of the Andalusian character. They allowed the Tyrians to establish colonies. Later, they invited the Phocians to settle there, and supported and helped them in every way. While the Phoenicians, concerned only with profit, concealed the route to tin and amber and spread all sorts of oriental fables about the ocean, the Tartessians, on the other hand, gladly explained to their Phocian friends how they made the journey to Oestrymnis and how the Oestrymnians went in search of tin and amber. This was not because they were stupid barbarians, but because, as prudent merchants, they knew how to appreciate the value of their monopoly on tin. The generosity of the Tartessians is the magnanimity of the true merchant, who knows as much about gifts as he does about profits.

In their voyages across the ocean, the Tartessians reveal themselves to be daring navigators, for whom life is movement. In this they resemble the Oestrymnians, their friends from the North. It could be said that the ocean itself breeds bold sailors, since all its inhabitants are just that: Tartessians and Oestrymnians, Saxons and Normans, Norwegians, English, Dutch, Hanseatics. But no, neither the land nor the sea make men; in the hearts of the Tartessians there was already that impulse towards the sea, and they felt it with irresistible force. In contrast to the indolence of the other Iberians, the Tartessians were an active people, whether it was the desire for gain or for distant lands that moved their spirits.

¢1 j B. Http., 42: neQue *in otto tontordiam neque in bello e›iriutem nilo R**

^• *potuietis* |nuoea pudistois maintain harmony and peace, nor practise valour in war].

What the voyage recounts about that silver mountain next to the Tartessos River, a mountain that sparkles with tin and silver (Avienus, 293), was not seen by the Massaliote sailor himself; he heard about it from the inhabitants of Tartessos. What Artemidorus (Strabo, 138) recounts about the sun, as it disappears into the ocean, being reflected a hundred times, sounds like an indigenous reference. The fantastic episode of the lions on the Cadiz ships and the lightning bolts that set the ships on fire (see above, p. 41) also has a distinctly Andalusian flavour. Likewise, the Turdetani, fearful of Sertorius' invasion, imagined the fable that he was bringing 50,000 African giants and cannibals (Sallust, dist. 1, 107). Cicero (pro *Archia,* 10, 26) speaks of the bombastic and hyperbolic style used by the poets of Cordoba. Even then, the art of beautiful phrasing was flourishing in Cordoba, and later the two Senecas and Lucan brought the rhetorical fame of this city to its peak.

The same propensity for bombast is evident in the poor taste with which the Andalusians celebrated General Metello for having rescued them from the Lusitanian bandits (1).

Who does not recognise in these traits the Andalusian of today, prone to fantasy, phraseology and exaggeration, but gifted with great poetic and rhetorical talent?

The cheerful character of today's Andalusians also seems to be a legacy of the Tartessian past. Posidonius (2) speaks of the 'cheerful spirit' of the Turdetani.

We know little about *the physical appearance* of the Tartessians. They were considered to be tall

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(1) Véase Salustio, *Hist.*, 2,70.

(2) In Strabo, 149: see Ohling, Qi«esf. *Posid.* Diss. Giittingen, 1907, 31.

gevos (Strabo, 151); their king Arganthonios apparently lived to be 120 years old. This longevity could be an African trait, as the ancient Africans were, like the Berbers of today, a long-lived race (1). Pliny tells us the strange story that *the Ttirduli (Turdetani)* had thirty-two teeth (2), which is undoubtedly a generalisation, like the equally strange reference to the Ligurians having only seven ribs (Pollux, Onom., 2, 167).

Without a doubt, the beautiful and rich land inhabited by the Tarte-Siós played no small part in the development of that early culture and that hospitable and friendly nature reminiscent of Homer's feaeios. Cultured peoples who are forced t o retreat t o a poor country degenerate (see below, page 166), a n d conversely, primitive peoples who settle in a rich country acquire, if not culture, then at least the basic conditions for their development. And where better to find these conditions than in Andalusia? Protected from the north wind by the Sierra Morena, a defensive bulwark, Andalusia fully enjoys its southern position. In the extensive and fertile plains of the Tartessos River, all the fruits of the field a n d the orchard grow in abundance, the sea provides a variety of fish a n d marine animals, the mountains hold in their flanks all the metals a n d also the stones and wood necessary to build cities, which in Strabo's time numbered two hundred, and the wide river serves as a thoroughfare for traffic and trade between the coast and the interior, w h i l e the extensive coastline i n v i t e s the arts of navigation. For three ve-

(1) 5alustio, Jug. 17: Apiano, *Lib.* 71; Gs•ll, *Hístoir de I'A frique du Nord, i,* 174.

(2) Pliny, 7,71: friceni *bini (dentes) viriis adtribuunlur extepta turdulo-*rtim people [men have thirty-two teeth, except for the Turduli].

Andalusia, one of the richest lands in the world, has managed to produce a magnificent flowering, the pinnacle of Spanish **culture**: in the time of Tartessos, in the imperial era, and under Arab rule. Three times its inhabitants have had to succumb to the onslaught of other more warlike peoples: the Tartessians were defeated by the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, the Romans by the Goths, and the Arabs by the Castilians.

From all that has been said, the image of Tartessos emerges as that of an ancient, cultured people who saw mining, maritime trade, industry and agriculture flourish within their borders. They were able to unite the southern tribes into a great empire, governed by their own laws and kings, and they possessed a great empire. maritime trade, industry and **agriculture flourish within its borders; that** it was able to unite the **southern** tribes into a great empire**;** that it was governed by its own laws and kings; that it had an **ancient and** venerable literature; that it welcomed foreigners hospitably; but that it was not in a position to offer much resistance to those who came to conquer it. Each of these traits, however, contrasts sharply with the character of the other Iberians. Among the Iberians, there are no large territories constituted as a unity, but rather isolation in cantons and castles; there is no political body organised as a monarchy, but rather an unbridled desire for freedom; there is no trade, industry, agriculture, art or literature. The Iberians despised all of that. Instead of welcoming foreigners and accepting their culture, the Iberians hated anything foreign. Instead of the peaceful temperament of the Turdetani, the Iberians were fanatically brave and highly skilled in warfare. In short, instead of a peaceful culture, the Iberians displayed a warlike ignorance, which, among the savage inhabitants of the plateau, took on a certain animalistic aspect. And in terms of their character, the Iberians also seem completely different from the Tartessians. The latter are cheerful, lively, ac-

in trade and navigation. They are dull and indolent.

Such profound differences demand an explanation. It soon occurs to one that the Tartessians may be a race distinct from the Iberians. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that both our oldest and most reliable sources, as well as other later references, distinguish and separate the Tartessians from the Iberians. Hecataeus describes Ibylla and Elibyrga as

-•íi.'Tu[*w¡aoi'az* p *l'uç-raac'u* [city of Tartessos or Tartessos]

(see above, p. 89), and, in contrast, describes the other Andalusian cities as cities of the Mastienos. The Periplus knows of only two groups of Iberians: the first between the Arias River and the Iberus River (Tinto River), and the second between Cape Nao and the Oranis River, near Montpellier. The tribes living between these two Iberian groups are named by the Periplus with their own names: Cilbicenos, Mastienos, etc., and incorporated into the Tartessians who rule from the Tinto River to the Júcar. Also Herodotus, 1, 163, Eforos, (Eseimno, 199), Polybius, 3, 33, 9 (who speaks of the Tersites alongside the Oretas-Iberians) and Diodorus, 25, 10, 1 (who says: Iberians and Tartessians), distinguish and separate the Tartessians from the Iberians. Therefore, the Tartessians could be considered as belonging to a pre-Iberian layer, for example, as *Ligurians.* In the lower Betis, Lake Ligur and the city of Ligur show that Ligurian peoples existed there, and these could be attributed to what we have called the pre-Tartessian culture (see p. 33). Ligurian ancestry would explain the Tartessians' aptitude for navigation, as the Ligurians are good sailors everywhere, while the Iberians avoid the sea (*Numantia, i*, 76). What the Periplus says about the Ligurian Oestrymnians (98) could be applied to the Tartessians.

..• multa vis hic gentis est superbus
nnzmus, eJicnz *sollertia, negotiandi*
cura iugis omnibus.

[This people has great energy, proud spirit, tireless activity, and a constant desire to negotiate].

That volatile temperament of the Turdetani and Andalusians also matches the Ligurian character, but not that of the Iberians. The Andalusian is the type that corresponds to the Gascon and Provençal, to Cyrano de Bergerac and Tartarin de Tarascon, and also somewhat to the Italian and Irish, all of whom are quite similar peoples, defined to this day by their Ligurian ancestry (1). Undoubtedly, the later Ligurians were as barbaric as the Iberians (2), but certain analogies allow us to assume that they were previously more civilised. Think of the fellahs, descendants of the ancient Egyptians; consider the current inhabitants of Peru and Mexico (3).

On the other hand, Herodotus includes the Tartessians among the Iberians, as do Appian *(Iber,* 2), Lycophron *(Alex•* 642) and Strabo (p. 139), who calls the Turdetani Iberians. Iberian-Libyan place names abound in Andalusia. The name Tarth seems to have the aspirated dental of Iberi-

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(1) On the French and Ligurians, see C. Julian, *Hi$t. dH la Gaule, t,* 189. On the Irish and Ligurians, see Zimmer, *Sitzungsbericht d. Barliner Acad.,* 1910, 1071.

(2) fn/ifterufi calls them Cato (fr. 31), and in Posidonius' excellent description (Diodorus, 5, 39) they appear as a semi-savage people (see juiiian, *Hici. de ra cama,* ›, i io).

(3) There are ancient examples in Diodorus, 5, 15, 6, taken from Timaeus, who uses the term ix§«¿ §«(ouobot [to become barbaric] to describe this process, and also in Livy, 5, 33, quos *loca* ipsn e@er‹arunf [those whom the region made barbarians]. Curtius 9, 10, 40: *ipsa* solitud *g matt Eugenia {*solitude itself em-**bruteció los ingenios].**

co (see page 13), and turde-tanus has the Iberian suffix tanus. The distinction made by the authors between Tartessians and Iberians can also be interpreted not as an ethnological distinction, but as a political difference: the Iberians of the south, subject to Tartessian rule, would have become Tartessians politically, while the eastern tribes remained free. Let us remember that the Ubios, later on, did not want to be called Germans, but *Agrippinenses (*1), Rome, proud, distinguished itself from the other Latin peoples, and these, in turn, from the other Italian peoples. The Greeks, animated by a high regard for their culture, denied the Macedonians the name of Hellenes, even though the latter differed from other Greeks only in their lesser culture. How different are the Ionians and Athenians from the Boeotians, Macedonians, Achaeans, and Aetolians! How different are the Campanians from the mountain Samnites, the Ubii from the Suebi, the Provençal Gauls from the Belgians, and the southern Britons from the northern Britons (2)! What a distance between the high culture of Egypt and the

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(1) Tae. *Hist•* 4, 28, 5: *in Ubiis,* Quod gens *Germanicie originis eiurata patria A grippinences c›otarnniur* [in the Ubios, a nation of Germanic origin, who, having renounced their homeland, bear the name of Agrippinenses]. Also in Germ., 28.

(2) Diodorus, 5, 22, 1: ni xaer›:xs<uv:tç iKóy,t'›r›' c 0:v.Tt(0vxi'i: tiff xsd 0i/ rf,› -‹i'› b•›‹i›'› ip-o ›‹'iv -x'¡iJ'«v -$r¡¡i-¿›tn‹i-›‹: -ü: ü;i'›¡ü-.| A9 those inhabitants, in change, they are friends with foreigners and, because of their dealings with foreign merchants, they lead a more cultured life]. The Odyssey (9, 47) is well aware of the difference between the coastal tribes and the inland tribes within the same people:

τόφρα δ' ἄρ' οἰχόμενοι Κίκονες Κικόνεσσι γέγωνον
οἵ σφιν γείτονες ἦσαν ἅμα πλέονες καὶ ἀρείους,
ἤπειρον νσίώντες ...

[But meanwhile, the Cicones, as they left, called the other Eicones who **lived** nearby **on the mainland and were more numerous and more varied].**

barbarism of the rest of Africa, or between Peru or Mexico and the rest of Atnérical. In all these cases, the contrast is due to the fact that a tribe of the same people, because they live in more favourable conditions—mainly the possession of fertile and rich land—or because they have had contact with a foreign culture, rises to the category of a cultured people, while the rest of their compatriots, living in less favourable conditions, remain mired in primitive barbarism. The difference between the Tartessians and the other Iberians could very well have originated in this way; the Tartessians, due to the favourable location of their city, the richness of the land, the earlier layer of pre-Tartessian culture, and their early relations with the East (see chapter II), would have become a cultured people, while the other Iberian tribes remained backward. It is clear that the difference between the Iberian tribes corresponds perfectly with their different geographical positions and their relations with foreign peoples. Thus, the Tartessians are the most cultured for the reasons already mentioned, followed by the neighbouring peoples of the eastern coast, with less rich lands and later relations with Eastern culture; among the Celtiberians of the plateau, those who live further east, closer to the Mediterranean coast, are also more civilised and peaceful than the Numantines, and in turn, the Numantines are more advanced than the inhabitants of the remote and poor north-west, the Gallaeci, Asturians and Cantabrians, who are the roughest of all. If the peculiar nature of the Tartessians, for example, their maritime virtues and their high culture, were due above all to their Ligurian ancestry, we would also find the same maritime and cultural capacity among the Iberians of the northern and eastern coast, who also lived in territory once occupied by the Ligurians. But the Iberians of the eastern coast, at the time

Roman, they were *imRrudentes maris* [inept for the sea] and bárba- (Livy, 34, 9).

It therefore seems possible that Tartessos was originally an Iberian city, and that its ancient and elevated culture, so different from the barbarism of Iberia, was due to early relations with the East and the influence of the Tyrians during their domination. But this explanation is not entirely satisfactory. Perhaps another could be attempted. *Could Tartessos perhaps have been a colony founded (P)by some Eastern people who (R)belonged t o the Aegean culture, for example, of Crete? (*1). There are negative reasons in favour of this hypothesis: the Tartessians have nothing Iberian about them except their name. But there are also positive reasons: the ancient culture of the pre-Tartessians, the numerous coincidences with the East (see p. 21) a n d with the older Eastern nations, the possibility that primitive sailors founded a colony in Andalusia, just as the Tyrians later founded Gades. In addition to all this, the very name Tartessos alludes to the East, and it is quite possible that the form Tartessos is not a copy but rather the model for the Iberian Tartis and the Semitic Tarschisch.

If Tartessos were a colony of Aegean sailors, for example, Cretans or Carians, this would explain its ancient and advanced culture, as well as its similarities with Crete in terms of metallurgy, writing, bull worship, etc.

As an Aegean colony, Tartessos would have been founded around the 3rd or 2nd millennium BC, and certainly before the Tyrian voyages. The Tyrians, then, would have invaded the maritime power of the

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(1) Philipon, in his book *Les lberes,* pp. xv and 37, supports this hypothesis. It is also defended by F. Jacoby and León Frobenius.

old Aegean sailors, both in the West and in the East. A Tartessos in Eretria could only have been founded before the fall of Eretrian power (in 1200). The ruin of Crete would therefore have influenced the western colony, thus explaining the Tartessians' lack of resistance against the Tyrians.

The possibility that Tartessos was an ancient Aegean colony must therefore be studied. Otherwise, only excavations in the East and West can shed light on this great problem. The words of the Apostle, quoted at the beginning of this work, which advise us to be resigned in the present and hopeful for better knowledge in the future, can be applied t o this main theme among the many offered by Tartessos.

CAPITULO IX

Where is Tadeccox7?

My research into the location of Tartessos began in 1910. At that time, I travelled the distance between the current mouth of the Betis River and Torre Carbonera (18 kilometres), searching for the western mouth of the river which, according to Strabo, was located 100 stadia (18 kilometres) from the eastern mouth, the only one that remains today. The result was that no trace of the ancient mouth could be found at Torre Carbonera. In the following years, the completion of the excavations at Numancia prevented me from continuing my research on Tartessos. Then came the World War. On my first trip after the war—1919-20—I visited the beach of Tartessos for the second time. In early 1920, accompanied by Mr Claus, I travelled the stretch between Huelva a n d Torre del Oro, believing at the time that the mouth of the Rio del Oro would be the ancient western branch. But the result of my observations was also negative. In 1921, accompanied by General Lammerer and using a motorised canoe provided by the Seville port authorities, I travelled along the Guadalquivir from Seville to Bonanza with the aim of determining the location of the lake.

Ligurian and learn about the different channels of the river. In the autumn of 1922, I carried out another investigation, accompanied by geologist Dr Jessen. This study resulted in great advances in our knowledge. Dr Jessen was able to see that the eastern mouth was much wider in the past than it is today, reaching as far as Torre Salazar, so that the western shore at that time stretched from Pico Cafio along Cerro del Trigo to Salazar. The boundary of the ancient alluvial deposit marks the position of the old shore, and the land between Salazar and the current western shore is made up of recent alluvial deposits. Thus, Tartessos could not have been in Maris-milla, next to the current shore, as I had previously believed; it had to be sought between Caño and Salazar (1). Another result was the discovery, to the north of Cerro del Trigo, of a Roman settlement that must have had some connection with Tartessos. A small trial excavation resulted in the discovery of some well-preserved walls. In view of the results obtained, at the end of 1922 I sent a report on Tartessos and its probable location to His Excellency the Duke of Tarifa, owner of the Doñana reserve, asking him to authorise an excavation and to provide me with the necessary resources. Both were granted, and in the autumn of 1923, a five-week excavation and investigation was carried out. General Lammerer, who drew up an accurate map of the region, and Mr. Jorge Bonsor, the distinguished explorer of the Carmona necropolis and the Andalusian cup-shaped tombs, took part in this work. Bonsor had already dealt with Tartessos and

(1) See the account by Jessen and myself in *Archäologischer Anzeiger,* 1922, and map I.

had made remarkable progress in the investigation of the lost city, locating it on the western arm of the river, although he was mistaken in placing the city on the banks of the aforementioned ***western*** arm **(1).**

Í • THE WESTERN MOUTH.

We have already seen that Tartessos was located on the banks of the Guadalquivir and, according to Strabo and Pausanias (see p. 175), between the two mouths. We must therefore first define exactly the state of the Guadalquivir delta at that time.

The journey only mentions that the river flows out of the Ligurian lake through its branches and runs in four branches south of the city of Tartessos. Later, we will see that these four branches should be considered as branches of the main eastern branch. The Periplus does not mention the western branch, except indirectly, when referring **to the island of Cartare, the island formed by the two branches.** The oldest and most important evidence in favour of the double mouth is found in Posidonius (see Strabo, 148), who says that between the two mouths there was once a city called Tartessos (2), and in Artemidorus (see Strabo, 140) which states that the two mouths were 100 stadia apart. To which Strabo observes that, according to other sources (Posidonius?), the distance was even greater. But

(1) *Bulletin of the Academy of History,* 81, 1f2.

(2) 00si' 8i Gt›oiiiV ix{i0L‹ v z0U <0ze¿OU, <Ó\iv i'z i› zJ0 /0›pip x«0 io8«› =póops• p«tv, í,v x«nio8«i T«pw¡os5v [there being two mouths of the river, they say that there was once a city in the intermediate region called Tarte-••l-

Given that both Artemidorus and Posidonius travelled along the coast in person, the information is valid for their time, that is, 100 BC. At that time, therefore, the river still had two mouths. The western mouth, which later disappeared, therefore still existed.

Artemidorus' reference to the 100 stadia distance has been confirmed, as there are about 18 kilometres from Salazar, on the western bank of the eastern mouth, to Torre Higuera, where the old western mouth was located (see below).

Plutarch *(Sertorius,* 8), following Sallust, reports that Sertorius was thrown into the sea at tuxpr›• *'ur'zq* T‹ov Tom B«íxtoc er§ok‹» [just above the mouth of the Betis]. However, it should not be assumed that the plural ix§okú›v means double mouth, but simply mouth, a frequent meaning ( ) (see Estéiano, *Thesaurus,* p. 380), which is why this passage from Plutarch does not actually tell us anything.

Mela does not mention a double mouth either, but only two channels at the outlet of the Ligurian lake. He says (3, 5): *Baetis...• diu •icut nascitur uno amne decurrit, post, ubi non longe a mari grandes lacum fecit, quasi ex nono* /oníe *gemi-nus exoritur quantusque simplici alveo* eenerní *tantus singulis eJuit. [*The Betis, from its source, flows through a single channel; but afterwards, having formed a large lake not far from the sea, it seems as if it were flowing from a new source, and the water that came through a single channel now flows through two]. The expression *effluit (*se. *ex lacu)* means, in parallel with *exoritur,* the outlet of the lake, and not the mouth of the river into the sea.

According to the journey, the river flows out of the lake through three branches. Mela, however, only knows of two. Therefore, the *third* branch *must have disappeared in the time between Peri*$_R$ *and*

tela. This third branch is the western mouth, as the other two branches still exist and are the main branch and the Torre branch.

Pausanias also attests to the double mouth (in 6, 19, 2) when referring, on the occasion of the Tartessian bronzes in Olympia, that •it is said that there is a river Tartessos in the land of **the Iberians, which flows into the sea through two channels, and the** city of the same name was located between the two mouths cad{jrag s (... s-Ü{1t¡tCtY ÍÇ Ü•ú/vCtfCfZ¥ 7tC*2 /Ó[°'2G'2 *ÉU atz* It£t' 0[LíÍíVtí{10'7 pUxoi gók, i'z *p.tao,i* voU zo1o¡io*o itov 2x§oi.tos x°i¡itvz¡v). Pausanias takes this news of Tartessos from an ancient source; therefore, However, they are not applicable to his time (around 150 AD).

Apart from these data, the only person who expressly testifies to the double mouth is Ptolemy (150 AD), who indicates a position of the mouth eastern *(*varol.¢gr!•y* oiótic) and, therefore, also knows a western one. Ptolemy (1, 12, 10) counts from Cape Sagrado (2°30') to Betis, that is, to the western mouth, 2°30', and the same from here to Gibraltar (7°30'; 2, 4, 6). He therefore places the western mouth a t 5°, while the eastern mouth is at 5°20' (2, 4, 4), so that the distance between the two mouths is 20' '/-° 170 stadia 32 kilometres. In reality, the distance is only about 18 kilometres (see above).

The **western** mouth can still be recognised today **by a chain of lagoons four** kilometres **long,** which runs westwards from the Doñana palace, proving that the western arm flowed between Matalascañas and Torre Higuera. The credit for discovering the western mouth belongs to Mr Bonsor. Jessen and Lammerer later confirmed that, indeed,

The chain **of lagoons represents the** western outlet, **and Lamiaerer has drawn a map of the lagoons on a** scale of 1:5,000.

Except for the aforementioned lagoons, the western arm has now completely disappeared. We have seen that this was already the case in Mela's time. The disappearance has been caused by floods that have completely filled the western arm and considerably narrowed the eastern arm. At the time of Tartessos, the western arm must have already been greatly reduced, as the Periplus does not mention it.

El Rocio (Canaliega) and El Guadiamar are two small branches of the western arm which, once the latter disappeared, became independent, feeding off the northern waters. Pliny (3, II, from Varro-Artemidorus) provides evidence of their antiquity when he speaks of *the river* ñf‹ienuó‹i that comes from the right, that is, from the west, and flows into the Betis below Caura-Corta. This can be none other than the Cairo de Brenes, a tributary on the right, formed by the Roeio and the Guadiamar.

2. —THE EASTERN MOUTH.

According to Strabo, the distance between the two mouths was 100 or more stadia, about 18 kilometres. Today, from Matalascaíias to the current mouth, there are 25 kilometres. Therefore, changes have also been verified in the eastern mouth. It is to Dr. Jessen's credit that he explained the ancient configuration of the mouth and, at the same time, the development of the delta. The reader can see his **exposition** in *Archáologischer* Anzeiger of 1922.

In the deluge period, the river flowed through Coria into a

A large funnel-shaped gulf stretching from Sanlúcar to Torre Higuera, the boundary of the floodplain. It was therefore about 25 kilometres wide (map 1). This gulf was gradually filled in two directions: inland, by the deposits of the Betis and other streams that flowed into the gulf, and along the coast by the alluvial deposits that the gulf current from the northwest accumulated next to the floodplain. Thus, the gulf gradually narrowed towards the northwest. Two types of alluvial terrain can be distinguished, one older and one more recent. The old alluvial deposit extends to the Pico Caño-Trigo-Salazar line. The terrain formed to the south of this line is young alluvial deposit. In this way, the gulf was reduced inland to the Ligurian lake that began in Coria and reached almost to the mouth. The river entered the lake at Coria and flowed out of it, forming several branches. On the coast, the gulf was filled in by the alluvium, leaving only two mouths, one about 10 kilometres wide, the eastern one, and another narrower one, about two kilometres wide, which are the two mouths of the river (see map). There is no doubt that, in the time of Tartessos, the old alluvial bank already existed. In fact, a Roman settlement built with stones from Tartessos has been found there.

which, therefore, was nearby (see p. 190).

Such is the information provided by geology. The oldest literary testimony about the river is the old periplus, whose description we must consider carefully. Let us follow the old navigator (1). We are approaching the city.

(t) See below for the znapa l. This is based on the *Map of the Southwest Coast of Spain: Gulf of Huelva, from the Guadiana to the Guadalquivir 1: t00.QXI, on the Seville and Huelva sheets of the geological map of Spain 1: 400.1Xi0, and on a highly accurate map of the delta established

by the West; we come from the Guadiana. In verse 241, the periplo mentions a yugiim (promontory) with a temple in a cave, dedicated to the inner goddess (goddess of the underworld). The yugiim is the 40-metre-high hill of La Rábida, with the monastery where Columbus lived before embarking on his voyage (1). L8 *R•lus* ereóe‹i
[laguna erebea], so named after the city of Erbi (the edition
principe dÍC* *R*!• s etrephea)* is the wide estuary of the Tinto River, which Strabo also describes and describes as kíg p [lagoon] (2).

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by the port of Seville in cu <Plcno del cauce mayor de la ria del f2uadal-quivir•, 1 : 50.tXD (1902). The authorities at the port of Seville kindly provided me with a photocopy. The banks of San Jacinto and Snlmedins have been drawn according to the British Admiralty chart: •En-trance of Guadalquivir river • (1875). The Doñana Reserve is drawn according to the new map obtained by General Lammerer; the geology of the region, se-

(1) S•gú» Sl«glio *(Arch.* Anz., t902, 43), the cave would still exist with two arches and a black stone bench, as Avieno describes it; which is false, as the words *Ptnatral maxwm adylumque* coceum [inner cave and **dark** chamber**] are a** poetic repetition of a commonplace idea, a figure of speech that Avienus is very fond of. In 1919 a n d 1922, I visited the convent of La Rábida. Through the intervention of Mr Albelda, deputy director of the port of Huelva, I managed to get the crypt opened. I then saw that under the apse of the church there is no cave or black stone bench, but only a recent crypt. Furthermore, this crypt was opened in 1891, before the Columbus festival, and it is likely that it was closed in 1901, as Sieglin was undoubtedly misled by the fantastical stories of the locals. In addition to this, Sieglin writes that in the Middle Ages there was still a statue of Proserpina in the place, dedicated t o this goddess by Trajan, and he supports his claim with the authority of Amador de los Ríos, *Provincia de Mucha (*Bareel., 1891), fig. 344. However, if he had read the passage he quotes carefully, he would have seen that the statue appears only in a completely fantastical 17th-century legend that tells of a Roman governor named Terreum (!) in Palos. Regarding the convent, see Velázquez-Bosco, *El Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Róbida (*1914).

(2) Sieglin identified the lake with the "Winter Lake", 20 kilometres from La Rábida, believing that this lake should properly be called Lago dei Interno. But this lake is too far from Erbi-La Rábida to have received its name from there.

This lake or estuary was considered to be the *lake of hell* because of the reddish colour of its waters, stained by the iron mines in the upper Tinto (1). The village of Palos took its name from *palus* ere6ea. Columbus's caravels set sail from the small port of Palos. The lake also appears in Greek mythology under the name 'Aop›oç 1í¡ivr¡ [laguna averna] (see chapter V), located in the region of Tartessos, which, as we shall see, is indeed accurate. Since *palus erebea* took its name from the city of Erbi, it follows that this city must have been on the hill of La Rábida, which perhaps still retains the old name (2).

The *Hiberus* River (Rio Tinto) was the western boundary of the Tartessian territory (see fig. 152). Further east, beyond the River Tinto, Avienus (255) mentions the island *of Cartare (*3) on his journey from west to east. Once inhabited by the Cempsos people, who were later expelled by the Iberians (Avienus, 256), the island of Cartare must have been large. It cannot, therefore, correspond to the small island of Saltes, opposite the mouth of the Tinto, as Sicglin maintains (*Atlas ant.,* sheet 29, 1). Cartare seems rather to be the island formed by the

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(1) See the description of the mines in Wegener *Herbattaga* in *Anda-*fuien (1903), p. 135.

(2) Unless Rábida comes from the Arabic rábita (co-convent] (see Davy: *Clo»saire des DtOtA*^fi›•*! P•rttt@ai» dírives d« l'Arabe).* This is very likely to be the case, as the convent dates from the 13th century, i.e. the Arab era.

(3) *... Cart4fre post inc4fla* ese,
EOmquH pridem, influxa et est catis fides,
Tenuere Cemf:›xi, prox:imorum postea Pulci
duallo...

(Then comes the island of Cartare, and there is good reason to believe that it was once occupied by the Cempsos, who were later expelled by war with their neighbours.]

two arms that the Tartessos River once had and of which Avieno says Avieno (283):

. *Sed insulam Tartessos*
amnis, ex Ligustino facti
ir a erta fusus, undique adlapsu ligat.

[But the river Tartessos, flowing out of Lake Ligustino and running through the plain, surrounds the island on all sides.]

The Tartessos delta is called an island, not only in the Periplus, but also in other texts (1). The Nile delta is also called *'jaoq'* [island] (in Diodorus, 1, 34, 2), as are the Indus delta (Strabo, 701) and the Tiber delta (*Procopius* in Coid., 1, 26). After the island of Cartare, the navigator names *Mons Cassius.* This can be none other than the highest elevation of the • Arenas gordas" (*Hareni montes* Pliny, *Hist•* not. 3, 7), or chain of dunes that follow the coast of the delta; this elevation, now called Cerro Asperillo, is 101 metres high, a height tanto more impressive because it rises above the Sea. The Asperillo hill dominates the region and serves as a coastal landmark for sailors, today as in the past (2).

After *Mount Cassius*, the Periplus immediately mentions the eastern mouth with Tartessos. It therefore overlooks the western mouth. This can be explained by its disappearance due to alluvial deposits and dunes. By the year 500, it must have been of no importance to navigation. We have already seen that Mela does not mention it and Ptolemy only mentions it in passing.

---

(1) Hesiod: -e›'rpv«s 'Ep»iis's [Erytheia surrounded by water]; Strabo, 140i Strabo's account of Cadiz, 170, Eseol. Lycophr, 643: Topw,sov;... '›joo- [Tartessos... island]; (see chap. V).

(11 Handbook of Northern and Western Spain and Portugal, Part 2: *Portugal* and *South-West Africa*(1913), p. 166.

Following *Mount Cassius* comes the *I•••'R romi-*nens, that is, the promontory of the temple (Avienus, 261-263); and then the *arx Gerontis,* castle of our old acquaintance, the Tartessian king Geron (see p. 43). Between these two landmarks on the coast lay the *sirius tartessius,* which is the current mouth of the river, a two-kilometre-wide estuary (1). Similarly, the estuary of the Tagus is called *sirius* in the Periplus *(*Avienus, 174). At the time of the Periplus, the name *Sirius* was even more appropriate, because at that time the eastern mouth was 10 kilometres wide (see p. 177). The topographical relationship between the *fa(•) (•') (R) rominens,* the *arx Gerontis and* the sinus *Tartessius* is perfectly clarified in two places in the journey:

v. 261. índe */ani est prominens*
et qu‹e vetustum En:ccii:e nomen *tenet*
Gerontis arx est eminus...
hic ora late sunt sinu• Tartessii:

[Next comes a promontory with a temple and, in the distance, the castle of Gerón, which bears an old Greek name... there the banks of the Tartessian Gulf stretch out widely.]

v. 304. *Gerontis arcem et* $_R$ *Fominens fani, ut supra*
sumus elocuti, distinet medium salum interque
celsa cautium cedit sinus.
fugum ad secundum flumen amplum eoofvifiir.

The castle of Gerón and the promontory of the temple, as we have said before, are separated by the sea, and the gulf penetrates between high cliffs. Next to the second cliff flows the wide river.

---

(1) Strabo calls it *=›üJoms (140, 142, 143, etc.); Pliny, nesfuarium

The first was, therefore, the temple on the northern shore of the mouth, that is, on the strip of alluvial land between Salazar and La Marismilla. Similarly, Geron's *castle* must be sought south of the river. There is no doubt about it.

, was on the Salzaedina bank, then peninsular, now isolated and submerged, but which protrudes from the water at low tide. This bank, much feared by sailors, is found in all the old descriptions of the estuary. The shoal was undoubtedly the site of the lighthouse (1) that was later built by the consul Caepión in 139 BC. And perhaps the lighthouse was built with the remains of the old castle. The Malmedina shoal, which is surrounded by the sea on all sides—the zíip«
‹i¡i$ix1vsToc [rock surrounded by sea], from Strabo—seems as if it were made specifically for a citadel or marine fortress. It is clear that the castle of Gerón was intended to defend the entrance to the river and access to the city, which, as we shall see, was located just above the mouth of the river. We can therefore identify Geron's castle with the castle that the Carthaginians destroyed before the fall of Tartessos (see page 97). Due to the fury of the sea, the island of Salmedina has lost about two metres of its surface area a n d today there is no sign of either Geron's castle or Caepión's lighthouse. It is a wild place, but one with great memories. As then, the *f•••‘ (R)rominens and* the *arx Gerontis* constitute today
still the lighthouses at the tip of Malandar and Chipiona, the

(1) EStF$bÓD, 14Ó•. Ó LOU KstüÍttlYfi2 tb{Jb?R' üo(4jfii Íü' üÍi{›*Ji C{£JÜAvM0J [the lighthouse of Caopión is located on a rock surrounded by the sea|. Mela, 3 , 4: in *ipeo mari* monumenfum Coepionis, *scopulo* mogis 9uom insufa imposifum [on that sea is the monument of Caepión, which stands on a rock larger than an island]. See detailed description i n *Arch. Anz•›* 1922, 43, with map.

signs for the entrance to the Guadalquivir *(Handbuch.,* pfigina 173).

Once *Sirius Tartessius* has been described*, that* is, the gulf formed by the eastern mouth and flanked by the ani *prominens* and the *arx Gerontis*, the voyage goes on to name the city of Tartessos:

Avienus, 266:

> *dictoque ab* tzmm (Annsd *in h‹ec locorum puppibus mia*
> *est diei Gadir hic est oppidum*
> *(nam Punicorum lingua consaeptum locum gadir*
> *ciocabat) ipsa Tartessos prius* cognominafn *est.*

[From the aforementioned river, the Guadiana, to these places, it is a day's journey for ships; here is the city of Gadir—for the Phoenician language called Gadir any enclosed place—which was formerly called Tartessos.

From the list and the adverb *Lic,* it can be inferred that *Tartessos was located on the eastern branch.* The distance from the Guadiana to Tartessos, calculated to the eastern mouth (v. 266), also shows that Tartessos was located there. The rewriter of the Periplus confuses Tartessos with Gadir; this was a common error at the time, but in this case it is particularly noteworthy, because the Periplus describes the Betis, and the interpolator should have known that Gades is not on this river.

After a digression on the cult of Hercules in Gades (vv. 273–83), Avienus describes the different branches of the river. The river flows out of *the Lacus Ligustinus* and surrounds the island (Cartare) on all sides. Upon leaving the lake, it has three branches, and then four branches flow through the southern part of the city (283–290):

sed insuíam
Tartessos amnis, ex Lígustino lacu
Ver aperta fusus undique adfapsu ligat.
Neque iste traclu si R!!•• '•••o!Wt!• unusve*
sulcat siióíncenZem *c‹espitem, tria ora e••R*
'e parte eoi lumínis
in/en *in agros, ore bis gemino quoque*
meridiana civitatis adluit.

[But the Tartessos River, flowing out of Lake Ligustino and running through the plain, surrounds the island on all sides. However, it does not flow out of the lake through a single channel nor does it cut through the grassy ground through a single course, but rather enters the fields through three mouths on the eastern side and bathes the south of the city through four courses].

If the river flowed out of the lake through three branches, the lake must be located above the separation of the western branch. The lake therefore reached south beyond the confluence of the Sanlúcar River, and perhaps even further south. Mela indicates the northern boundary of the lake when he says that the river enters it through a single channel. The lake therefore extended northwards to the beginning of the delta, that is, to Coria. In fact, at Coria, the banks begin to become lower and lower (1), and from Coria southwards, eight horizontal layers of earth can be clearly seen on the slopes of the banks, which must be the deposits of earth and plants left by the Ligurian lake, which could not have been very deep. Undoubtedly, the lake was contained further down by a transverse barrier that the

(1) *Handbook,* p. 174: •From Coria to Seville, the banks rise slightly
в COCO.*

The river gradually eroded this barrier and dried up the other branches, until it finally emptied the lake itself and even deepened its course into the former bed of the lake. The tide that reaches Seville undoubtedly also contributed to the drying up of the lake, forcing the river to deposit its sediments at the bottom of the lake. The myth of the three heads or three bodies of Geryon, personification of the river (p. 46), testifies that, in fact, the river flowed out of the lake through three channels. The three branches are: 1st, the eastern branch; 2nd, the Torre branch; 3rd, the western branch.

The account states that the division of the river into three channels is located to the east of the city. We should not take this information at face value, as Lake Ligurian was not to the east, but to the northeast of the city, located further down, to the southwest of the lake. However, the inaccuracy of the information can be explained by the fact that the Periplus only designates directions by the four cardinal points (1). It should also be borne in mind that the ancients determined the east by the sunrise, which is variable, which explains the well-known error of orientation in the topography of Carthago nova by Polybius (10, 10) and the orientation of the island of Gades from west to east instead of northwest to southeast in Strabo (169).

The greatest difficulty is posed by the passage:

...ore bis gemino quoque meridiana
cieítatis adluit.

[and bathes the south of the city with four channels] (2).

(1) See my edition of Avienus, fig. 19.

(2) One could take 6is gemino literally and consider the expression as an allusion to the two pairs: 1st, the main branch and the Torre branch; 2nd, Canaliega and Guadiamar. But this does not agree with the usage

Having left the lake via three branches, the river then formed four branches further downstream, to the south of the city of Tartessos. Where should we look for them? Tartessos was located on the island of alluvial soil, on the western shore of the eastern mouth, that is, on the southern edge of the island. The four branches must therefore have been located to the south of the island. The solution was found by General Lammerer, according to whom, at the time of Tartessos, recent alluvial deposits had already begun to accumulate, but had not yet filled the entire gulf, so that three islands had formed. Between the islands and the mainland, the river then sought its outlet through four branches to the west and east (see map 1). This solution is obvious. Thus, in reality, the river formed four branches at that time, which ran south of Tartessos.

After the Ligurian lake, the Periplus mentions the mountain *of R!*!O.* In the lowlands surrounding the river, there is no such mountain, nor has there ever been. It was located next to the source of the river which, according to Estesicoro, • flows from silver •, and according to Strabo, t B, comes from the silver mountain. The mountain in question

is the silver-bearing mountain range of Cástulo, the source of the river. The error in the Periplus regarding the location of the silver mountain dc-

eoDtiDuo of the idiomai, since whenever the expression *bis* geminus appears in other passages (a very common phrase in the idiom of poetic language), bis teni means 12, and bis dtni means 20: Theaaurus ling. fui., li, 2009} means four, and nUnea two pairs of • two. Compare this with what Avienus says in

***Aratea*, 710:**

quattuor inlafitrot/ari6us ru6or auzeus *adque*
bis gemino discreta cilu micof *igniPotenc lu:x:.*

{The golden red illuminates with four haehones and the divided light shines brightly in four parts]. This expression is also used by Paulinus of Nola, ep. 5 , 8; 32, 17 and 18; cnrm. 27, 378 and Sidonius Apollinaris, *tarm. 2 ,* 220 (see *Thes. ling. lat.›* II, 2008).

shows, therefore, that the navigator, its author, was not on Lake Ligur, and furthermore that *Tartessos*, where he was, spoke *of Lake Figtir.* The reference to the mountain of silver, like the citations of the tribes inhabiting the river, up to its source, were obtained through conversation with the Tartessians.

Thus, from Avienus we can deduce that Tartessos was located on *the eastern shore*, *far from Lake Ligur,* that is, *near the coast.*

Let us examine the other testimonies regarding the location of the city. According to Strabo and Pausanias, that is, according to the 6th-century sources used by these authors, Tartessos was located between *the two river mouths: and* .

isi«$u ;t‹iipiu (mtv ix)olñ'›) [in the region between the mouths] says Strabo, and iv *Age* ••só zoiu¡ioó Tói'z íF.¡d0i•Éo'2 [at the mouths of the river] says Pausanias. This does not mean that Tartessos was in the middle of the river's branches, in the intermediate land—something inconceivable in the case of a maritime city—but rather that it coincides with the position indicated by the periplus next to *the* eastern *branch*, and on its *western bank.* The position of the city on the banks of the river is also confirmed by the periplus, which says that the river brings tin to its walls (Avienus, 297, *irniehitque moenil›us dives metallum [*and brings great wealth of metal to its walls]). Other texts tell us (see chapter V) that Tartessos was -ps:- } u› 'iix-z› or also z«p‹i T 'íixso› [next to the Ocean, beside the Ocean]. From this we can infer *that the city was at or near the mouth of the river.* Ephorus (Escimno, 162) knew that Tartessos was two days' journey (1,000 stadia) from the Pillars of Hercules. This information leads us to locate the city on the eastern shore, but somewhat before the mouth, since from Gibraltar to the mouth of the Gua-

Dalquivir is 900 stadia away (see p. 120). According to the voyage, it took a day to sail from Arias to Tartessos, which also agrees with the situation on the eastern branch, because from the Guadiana to Salazar there are about 500 stadia (one day). Perhaps the topography of Plato's Atlantis, which seems to refer t o Tartessos, can also serve as evidence in favour of this position. The city of the Atlanteans was o n the shores of an arm of the sea (ivózi.ooh) 50 stadia (9 kilometres) from the sea (*Kritias,* 115 d*;* 117 ed.). Since the indicated position coincides, the distance could very well coincide as well. Another text (p. 180) says that it was on *an island.* This is the one formed by the two branches of the river.

3. LOCATION OF TARTESSOS.

The voyage and other evidence allow us to affirm that *Tartessos was located* on *the ancient* western *shore of* the *eastern* arm*, some distance from the coast.* Indeed, somewhat removed from the sea, the city was perfectly protected from the ocean and pirates, yet had easy access to the sea, as the tide reaches very high. Thus, we see that all the emporiums of the western ocean are not built by the sea, but at the bottom of the estuaries: Hispalis, Olba, Olisipo, Burdigala and Corbilo, London, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Bremen and Hamburg. Strabo repeatedly emphasises the advantages of being located at the bottom of an estuary (142, 143 (1), 152).

(1) κατομαθόντες δ' οὖν τὴν φύσιν τῶν τόπων οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰς ἀναχύσεις ' 'ioiu›; leon •¡etv xoit zoxn¡io i¡ oov« vcç zó : x:rev *z' ‹xUxéuv ... v.r b z(› +z' xé'r› xois¡iJiv. (Thus, when men had learned the nature of the places a n d that the arms of the sea serve the same purpose as rivers, they founded cities on them... as they did on the banks of rivers].

Ancient tradition therefore allows us to draw only the following conclusions: 1. Tartessos was located between the two mouths (Strabo, Pausanias); 2. near the eastern mouth (Avienus), from which we can infer its position on the western bank of that mouth; 3. not far from the sea (see p. 187); 4. on an island (see p. 180), that is, in the delta, between the two mouths.

Fortunately, the terrain allows us to pinpoint the location of the city even more precisely. It shows us that Tartessos could only have been located on the alluvial lands and on the island, since the higher ground was and still is a floodplain, a marsh. Even today, the land east of Trigo is flooded from November to May, forming a large lagoon. And then there was the Ligurian lake, which obviously had water, even in summer. The Periplus and Mela bear witness to the lake that existed even in Mela's time. Tartessos could not therefore have been located there, but only on the alluvial land, which offered firm ground and protection from flooding, as it is four metres above the marshland. To determine the location of Tartessos, we must therefore limit ourselves to the northern part, the oldest part of the alluvial terrain located north of Trigo, since the southern part is of recent origin. This location on the ancient alluvial plain is confirmed by the periplus, since the four branches that ran south of the city are the outlets of the river between three islands formed by recent alluvial deposits (see p. 186).

Tartessos must therefore be sought in the ancient area and on its southern edge, since the city was located on the western bank of the eastern mouth. This western bank can be determined to a certain extent. The river, which at

At the end of its course, it heads westward, appearing to have reached the alluvial island at Pico de Caño; the course at that point seems to be determined by the Caño de Figuerola and the large lagoon located east of Pico del Cafio. From Caño to about a thousand metres south of Trigo, the riverbank is marked by the edge of the marsh, which is also the edge of the ancient alluvial plain. Further to the southwest, there is no clear indication of the edge, because the alluvial plain in this part is covered by dunes. However, it can be assumed that the western bank formed an S-shaped curve, like the eastern bank. The western bank can therefore be defined by a curved line along Caño-Trigo-Salazar. This layout of the ancient bank is confirmed by the Roman settlement located north of Trigo (1). This was a fishing village, as four fish salting basins have been found there. Being a fishing village, it must have been located very close to the bank. The ruins are now located 500 metres from the edge of the marsh, that is, from the old shore, which was therefore located slightly further west. The Roman settlement not only determines the old shore, but also provides evidence that Tartessos was located in its vicinity. *It* can be demonstrated, in fact, *that the fishing village was built with stones from Tartessos,* as the stones from the

Most of the stones used in that village come from far away, from the Sierra Mo-

, and it is impossible that the poor fishermen would have taken the trouble to go so far in search of stones when they had excellent stone materials right in front of them in Bonanza. No!

(1) See on this point *Arch. Ana.,* 1923 The ruins are found in the part of the alluvial plain not yet covered by dunes; a fortunate coincidence, since otherwise they would not have been found, and certainly could not have been excavated with ease.

The stones could only have been brought to this place by the Tartessians, who, due to their mining industry, sailed continuously along the river and found it easy to transport them. It is also understandable that the fishermen, finding the most suitable material so close at hand, already carved, preferred to build their village here, in this desert region, rather than on the border of Bonanza.

Now then: *if the fishing village is built with stones from Tartessos, it means that the ruins of Tartessos* cannot *be far away.* Tartessos was not in the same place, because if it had been, when the Roman settlement was excavated, the remains and foundations of Tartessos would have been found. Tartessos must therefore be located in the vicinity of the Roman settlement, probably somewhat further to the south-west, south of Trigo, and closer to Trigo than to Salazar, as Tartessos was certainly in the eastern part of the alluvial terrain to shelter from the north-westerly storms.

The Roman village, built on the ruins of Tartesi$_o$, is important not only because it marks the proximity of the old city, but also because *it must contain*

Tartessian stones, pieces of architecture, inscriptions, etc. It is therefore a prospect of great value, which imposes the obligation to excavate this village thoroughly, which in itself is of no interest. Small fragments of architecture have already been found, which seem to come from Tartessos, as the fishermen would not have used other ruins.

The fact that Roman fishermen used the ruins of Tartessos shows that, in the years around 200 AD, they were not yet covered by dunes, as they are today. We must therefore imagine the island, in the time of Tartessos, as open land, suitable for

grazing, which coincides with the legend of Geryon's bulls. In addition to pastures, the island also had water, which is found two metres underground. Apart from these advantages, the island was of little use, because its sand was not suitable for agriculture and there were no stones for building. But the Tartessians, with their ships, dominated the sea and the river and could bring whatever they needed to their city. London is also on a poor island and relies on imports to sustain its millions of inhabitants.

One might wonder why the Tartessians did not build their city on the eastern shore. There are two reasons for this: 1. On the western shore, on the island, they were perfectly protected against any attack from the interior; 2. The main channels of the river—and this is surely the decisive reason—ran along the western shore (*Arch. Anz.,* 1922, 25). As for the western branch, it must not have been taken into account because it was already half silted up in the time of Tartessos. By the time of Mela, it had disappeared completely (see p. 174).

The city of Tartessos must therefore be sought to the south-west of the Roman village. Unfortunately, the land to the south and west of the Roman village is covered with high dunes, which naturally makes the search for Tartessos very difficult. However, among the dunes there are some valleys (corrales) that reach the ancient ground and therefore allow for verification of soundings. Next autumn (1924), boreholes will be drilled, and if part of the old city is found, the rest is just a question of money. But it would be a great achievement just to determine the location of Tartessos.

The Roman fishermen built their village, as I have

We have seen the ruins of Tartessos, but they will not have used all the materials and there will still be quite a lot left, because Tartessos was large and the fishing village, on the other hand, was very small and limited.

There is, therefore, a good chance of finding the old Tartessos. Undoubtedly, the struggle with the high dunes will be a Herculean task. But Hercules himself, whose exploits were witnessed in these lands, can teach us that a determined will never encounters insurmountable obstacles.

For 2,500 years, Tartessos has slumbered in the solitude of the marshes, which, as in the time of King Gerón, serve as pasture for bulls and are rarely trodden by human feet. Tartessos has disappeared, like Vineta, the Tartessos of the North (1). But travellers who walk across the lonely sands see in their minds' eye the image of the ancient trading city that once turned this desert into a centre of culture. The grandiose solitude encourages the imagination to soar. Wherever you look, you see only dunes and pine forests. The river, as it did 2,500 years ago, slowly pours its yellowish waters into the infinite sea; and as far as the eye can see, the waves of the ocean lap against the beach, crowned by reddish dunes, endless and deserted like the sea.

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(1) Like Tartessos, Vineta is also a historical reality that has become legendary after its destruction. Vineta is the great Slavic emporium of Jumm , corrupted to Jtimnefo, *Kinefe—which* was at the north-western tip of the island of Usedom, a tip that was later covered by the sea. Adfin de Bromen visited it and described it in 1075 in vivid colours (2.22). It was destroyed by the Danes between 1075, when Adam knew it, and 1175, when Helmold's Slavic chronicle referring to its destruction was composed (see Leutz-Spitta in ñfunnus, 1917, 270, Hennip, ffiif. *Zeitcchr.,* 1916, 16; Walt. Vogel, *G•schichte d . deutschen fieescJii/-fehrt, i (*191f), 153).

CHAPTER X

Conclusión.

If only the city of Tartessos could be discovered! Finding it is one of the most important problems facing archaeology in Spain. What are the prospects for the excavation work? Since Tartessos was destroyed around 5 AD, anything found here would date from before 500 AD. In general, we obtain historical dates from archaeological finds, which is still an uncertain conclusion. But here we find ourselves in the rare case of being able to date archaeological finds from history itself. The Greek objects that would surely be found in the upper layers, mainly vases, would date from before 500 BC and would be of enormous value for the chronology of Greek art of that period, especially ceramics. And what about the great antiquity of the finds located in the lower layers! We could find objects from at least the second millennium, perhaps even older. Tartessos would offer us products from the industry of all countries: from Africa, to which the ostrich eggs and ivory objects found in the Turdetani tombs allude; from the North, where the Tartessians went in search of tin and amber; and above all from the East, perhaps from Crete and certainly from Phoenicia and Phocaea.

On the outskirts of the city would be the tombs of its ancient kings, grandiose domed buildings like those of Antequera, which are counterparts in the West to the royal tombs of Mycenae and Orchomenos. How many treasures must there be in those tombs! And given its early relationship with the East, Tartessos would also be of undoubted benefit to the history of Eastern culture.

These archaeological and historical perspectives are such that few others exist in other parts of the Old World. Tartessos could be something like Troy and Crete. But for the West, it would mean more than any other place on the globe. *Tartessos is* home *to the oldest culture in the West.* If Tartessos were to be discovered, perhaps the prophetic words of the last lines of

H. Zimmer, who was taken from science at a very early age, might then be fulfilled. This researcher, whose linguistic studies have also shed light on the ancient history of the West, said: "There is hope that in the next century the sun of scientific knowledge will also rise over Western Europe" (1).

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(1) *Sin. d. Bzrl. Ahad.,* 1910, 1103.

N 0 T A

The translation from German was done by Mr. Manuel G•
3forenfe and *the maps were drawn by Mr. Lá'mmerer.*

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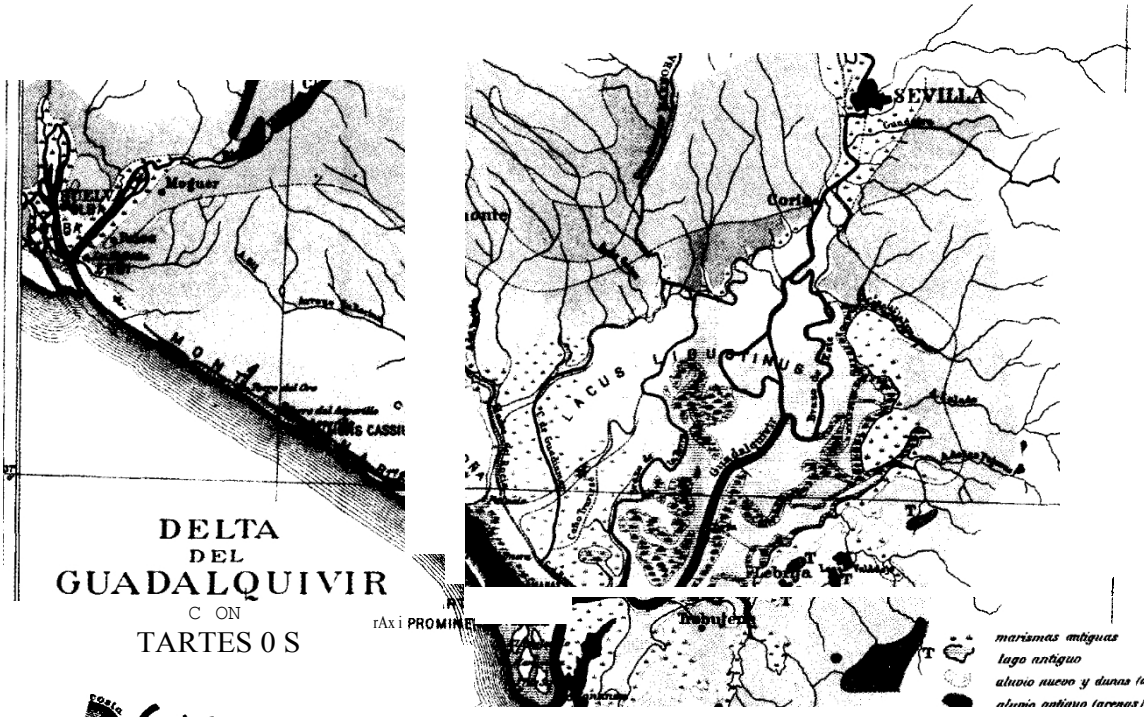

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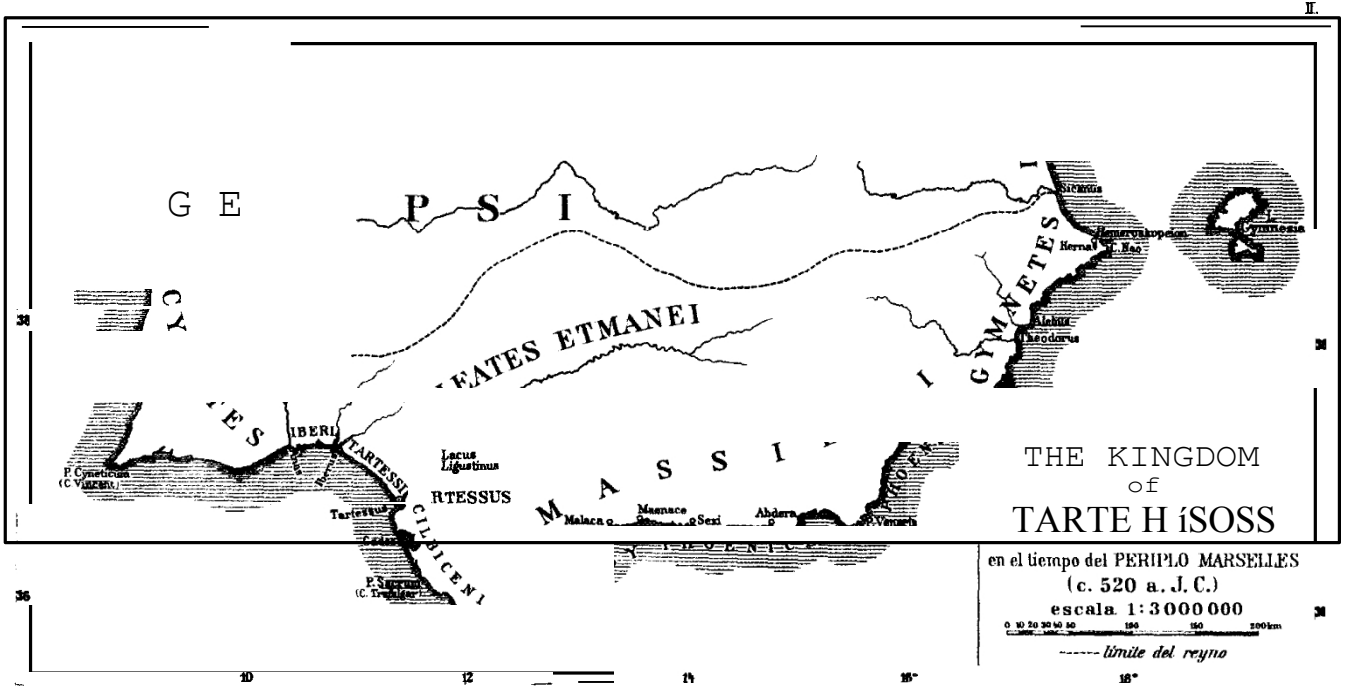
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